


Memoirs Of Owen
Glendower:
With A Sketch Of The
History Of The Ancient
Britons
(1822)



Owen Glendower
Thomas Thomas



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Memoirs Of Owen Glendower: With A Sketch Of The History Of The Ancient Britons

Owen Glendower

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Memoirs
OF
OWEN GLENDOWER,
(*OWAIN GLYNDWR*)
WITH A SKETCH
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ANCIENT BRITONS,
FROM THE
Conquest of Wales by Edward the First,
TO THE PRESENT TIME,
Illustrated with various
NOTES,
GENEALOGICAL & TOPOGRAPHICAL.

BY THE REV. THOMAS THOMAS,
Rector of Aberporth, Perpetual Curate of Llanddewi Aberarth, and Author of the
St. David's Prize Essay for 1810, on the Study of the Hebrew Language.

Temere in acie versari, et manu cum hoste configere, immane quoddam et bellu-
rum simile est. Sed cum tempus necessitasque postulat, decertandum manu est, et
mora servituti turpitudinique anteponenda. CICERO. OFFIC.

Opprimi in bonâ causâ melius est, quàm malè cedere.

CIC. DE LEG.

Haberfordwest:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY JOSEPH POTTER, HIGH-STREET,

1822.

TO THE VENERABLE AND REVEREND THOMAS BEYNON, ARCH-
DEACON OF CARDIGAN, RECTOR OF PENBOYR, &c. &c.

Rev. Sir,

In literary pursuits, as in other propensities, an attachment to a particular study increases imperceptibly. What at first was an amusement becomes a task. This observation is peculiarly applicable to history and antiquities. Necessity confines us to some pursuits from a conviction of their utility; but antiquities and history grow upon us, by interesting the fancy, and gratifying curiosity. Unceasing variety and perpetual novelty are strong stimuli, and similarity of studies can alone appreciate the pleasure of the antiquary, or adequately judge of the toil of the historian.

The author disclaims any merit; he has searched for materials with patience and assiduity, digested them with care, and endeavoured to arrange them with perspicuity. A medium has been observed between prolixity and brevity; pomp and artifice of style avoided, and natural, honest simplicity, suitable to the dignity of history, adopted. My attempt is sincere and motives patriotic. Whatever censure or reprehension I incur, I have the satisfaction of your approval and goodnatured construction. Some readers are easily pleased, and others very fastidious: the former will think I have dilated too much, while the latter will blame my conciseness. Had I been intent on making a large book, I might, with my comparative scanty materials, have inflated it to three times the magnitude; but next to accuracy, my object was brevity. For industry, and patient investigation, there was a great scope,—for imagination, hardly any. No effort could diminish the distance at which I was placed from events and characters I undertook to narrate and describe; nor could I add to the stock of facts already recorded, but by tradition, a vague and uncertain authority. The English historians might relate facts, but were averse to detail causes; and the subject was a perilous under-

taking, "while the danger of the day was but newly gone," for the Welsh historians.—At length, through your liberal encouragement, and unprecedented aid and support, a succinct narrative of Glyndwr's insurrection is offered to the public; humbly recommended to your protection, as a lover of your country, its rights, history, and antiquities; a real friend to the best interest of the church; a patron of every laudable institution, a promoter of every undertaking, national, and of public utility. Accept, Reverend Sir, this public testimony of gratitude from one who stands indebted to you for many favours, great in themselves, but rendered much greater by your promptitude, and generous manner of conferring them. I mention not this with a view of distinguishing myself, nor of magnifying my performance. Your munificence is as universal, as your anxiety to prevent acknowledgment, is great.—Satisfied with the approbation of your own mind—blessed with the means, you likewise possess a heart to use them.—May you long enjoy uninterrupted health and tranquillity, and continue an ornament to the church in general, and to the Archdeaconry of Cardigan in particular, are the ardent, unanimous, prayers of all that know and honour you; but of no one more than the author of these sheets, who has the honour to inscribe them to you, and to testify thus publicly the sense of obligation, duty, and esteem, with which he remains,

Rev. Sir,

Your most respectfully obliged,

and grateful Servant,

THOMAS THOMAS.

Aberporth, February 18th, 1822.

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PREFACE.

THE history of the ancient Britons is properly divided into two periods: that of the aborigines to the time of Cadwalader, when they possessed the sovereignty of the whole island; and that containing the transactions of the princes of Wales to the conquest thereof by Edward the 1.—An appendix to the history of those periods, giving an accurate detail of the subsequent insurrections, to the union of Wales with England, has been regarded a desideratum, to fill up an evident deficiency in our annals; which it is the intention of this essay to supply in some measure.

The author's first intention was to collect all the historical documents respecting Owen Glyndwr, the last champion for Cambrian independence, and arrange them into a memoir accessible to common readers; a compendium of military operations (second to none of those under the most renowned princes) interspersed through voluminous, expensive, publications, ancient and modern. Unapprized that Glyndwr's actions had ever been methodically arranged into an historical form encouraged the research. His exertions became more animated by difficulty, and strengthened by perseverance. Sensible, that in beating an untrodden, dark, and intricate path; collecting, and disposing in some order, motley and imperfect materials, every allowance would be made by the candid reader for the defect in preci-

sion and order.—After the collection had increased to a considerable bulk, and was digesting into some order, the perusal of Lackington's catalogue of books, of 1811, announced a *History of Anglesea and O. Glyndwr*. This was a death blow to the author, who, thereupon exclaimed, "*ibi omnis effusus labor.*" The book was immediately ordered. The reply to the application was to this effect:—"Respecting *O. Glyndwr*, I have seen it more than once, it is a *very small tract*, not easily to be met with. Mr. Lackington has no knowledge of the book." Certified that the scarcity of that publication, and difficulty of obtaining a copy of it, would not militate against the present memoir, the investigation was pursued, and the result is now submitted to the public. The original plan, the reader will find, has been altered and augmented. Every insurrection, and material incident which occurred since Edward the first's time, has been concisely, yet faithfully narrated; every circumstance, affecting the Welsh collectively as a nation, impartially recorded. In recording, however, the oppression of an injured people, their unequal struggle for liberty and independence, should national warmth sometimes discover itself, an indulgent public will neither censure it as unnatural or indecorous.—Owen's ravages, indiscriminately, deserve to be consigned to oblivion. But his ardent love of liberty, his inflexible attachment to Richard the second, will be always subjects of eulogy and praise. Catiline and Jugurtha have had their historians; Cromwell and Buonaparte their panegyrists; and why should Owen Glyndwr be destitute of a narrator of his desolations, and an encomiast of his patriotism? Let the meed of praise due to his independent spirit be allowed him, in conjunc-

tion with the foul epithets and unqualified execrations so liberally bestowed by monks and seculars, by the English and Welsh. Though swayed too often by a spirit of revenge, still the *amor patriæ* predominated, and which terminated only with life.

Having briefly explained the subject of the history; intimated the reasons for undertaking the compilation; a pleasant task remains—to balance the author's account with the different historians; to acknowledge his authorities, and obligation to those, whose works have been perused, cited and referred to. The different, voluminous histories of England and Wales have been made subservient to the undertaking, and canvassed minutely as to every article relative to Wales during the period in question.

The late Mr. Pennant, in his pleasing and elegant tour in North Wales, has devoted many pages to the memory of our hero. His narrative is given with the usual accuracy, scrupulous ingenuousness and lucid order attending all his valuable publications. Previous to the perusal of this tour, the author was obliged to record many a dateless event, which he found Mr. Pennant had arranged methodically, and ascribed to such a period of the insurrection as it appertained to. Of the facts relative to Owen, in the tour, sketches of local history, architectural observations, and biographical anecdotes, he has availed himself, and the publication thereby rendered more correct and useful.—Genealogy, biography, and local history, are mostly taken from Camden's *Britannia*, Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, Mr. Carlisle's *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, Mr. Yorke's *Royal Tribes of Wales*, and Wynne's edition of *Caradoc's Chronicle*.—The articles *Druidism* and *Bardism* are indebted to Cæsar,

Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Mela, Lucan, Appian, Posidonius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Turner's Vindication of British Poems, Bingley's Tour in North Wales, and Mr. Roberts's Popular Antiquities of Cambria. Coxe's Monmouthshire has afforded many valuable hints to antiquities, history, general and local. Should some authorities be not referred to their proper sources, the omission has not been voluntary, as the author has invariably endeavoured to render every one his due, and acknowledge the testimony afforded by the respectable publications just mentioned, as well as others, too numerous to certify, but in their respective places.—The materials have been long collecting, the reference might have been neglected in transcribing from the original notes, and the facts, in some instances diffused through a multitude of authors, consequently well authenticated.

The numerous notes inserted, to elucidate the topography of the scenes of action, to derive the genealogy of families, to preserve the few remaining antiquities of the Principality of Wales, will, it is presumed, be thought neither superfluous nor irrelevant. The labours of the antiquary, unless he runs to extravagant surmises, will be always appreciated. Fortunately for the cause of antiquities, a long continental war has confined (reluctantly) the investigations of many travellers and tourists of skill and eminence within the limits of their own island, compelled them to exert their researches among the Highlands of Scotland, the bogs and loughs of Ireland, the lakes of Cumberland, and the mountains of Wales, which else would have been expended, as well as their wealth, in France or Italy, Switzerland or Greece. The disquisitions of such as have made our antiquities their study

PREFACE.

are partly noticed in this historic essay, illustrative of the many Celtic, Belgic, Roman, Saxon and Norman remains among us; descriptive of baronial grandeur; or of popish superstition—Few original hints can be expected, after the many active, ingenious, discerning minds who have traversed the principality in all directions, and left nothing for the gleaner.—“*Quem non moveat clarissimis monumentis testata consignataque Antiquitas?*”* However, notwithstanding Cicero’s merited compliment to antiquarianism, many captious individuals, of more zeal than knowledge, may allege, that such studies ill accord with the clerical profession, that the order have the science of theology to expatiate upon:—granted. But their calumniators, on the other hand, must have the candour to allow, that the clergy are entitled to occasional respites from their severer studies; temporary relaxations from their more immediate avocations. And on what subjects, pray, can they more innocently, rationally and usefully, employ their leisure hours, than history and antiquities? Few of them, comparatively speaking, have reason to exult in their worldly prosperity. This naturally confines them to their studies and home. Literature, in its various ramifications, inspires them with a dignity and independence of mind, which teaches contentment with an income inadequate to their comfort, nay conveniences in life—to practise, as well as instil the great duty of resignation. Thus situated, the majority of the profession, unintoxicated with their success in life, enjoy a serenity of mind: a retirement, at first, perhaps obligatory and unpleasant, becomes habitual and agreeable, solitude the source of their happiest reflections. Next to the studies in the direct

* Cicero de Divinat. lib. 1.

line of their calling, surely, history may claim their attention and research.—The fruits of the literary leisure now extolled—a trifle in addition to our national history, is humbly offered to a candid public in these sheets. In a performance of this kind, much originality cannot be expected. The assiduity and fidelity exercised by the compiler still leaves the collection inadequate to his wishes; and of its defects, suffice it to assert, that no one can be more sensible than himself. Fame is not his object, but, according to the Poet's maxim:—

———*Sanctas patriæ instaurare ruinas*
Urit amor.

Edwardus Wynne Monensig.

An ardent wish to do justice to the memory of the last assertor of Cambro British rights and valiant vindicator of Welsh liberty; a patriotic feeling for a nation that struggled so long, to be admitted to a thorough union of dominion and interest with its once terrible foe; and an attempt to illustrate a period in the history of his countrymen, when they had so narrow an escape from Norman extermination.—These were the motives that determined the author to write these sheets.—Unintoxicated with his success in life; verging upon that period, insensible to hope or fear in this world, he is not extremely solicitous for literary fame. Though unconcerned for fame, the compiler must honestly confess his solicitude to deprecate, in some measure, the harshness and rigour of criticism. A family of no common magnitude precludes the possibility of publishing on his own account, without the aid and subscription of friends, who generously contributed to give publicity to a work, which the author was unable to do, though urged by taste, and instigated by inclination. The severity of animad-

version would greatly abate, were the reader to bear in mind the good-natured observation, "That *history* bears and requires authors of all sorts: that we must look for bare matter in some writers, as well as fine words in others." The author's zeal to elucidate a dark period in the history of Cambria, would by such lenity and liberality, meet with merited indulgence; plead for deficiencies and inaccuracies; and act as a stimulus to produce at some future period (should his life be prolonged) something more worthy of notice.

The censure of half critics, pretended antiquaries, and interested booksellers, shall be equally despised with the scoffs of the chartered wit, or carping Momus. But candid criticism shall be duly appreciated. Any omissions or inaccuracies pointed out, will be gratefully acknowledged; suggestions of improvement, or additions afforded, be noticed, and carefully inserted (should the public call for it) in a future edition.

The author has, invariably through life, endeavoured to "learn wisdom from the wise, to imitate the most excellent, to attempt nothing from vain glory, nor be deterred from any thing by cowardice, but zealously and strenuously to persist in his duty."* He has found, notwithstanding the probity of his intentions, that the best designs are too often misunderstood, misconstrued and misrepresented; that privacy and obscurity are insuperable bars to advancement; that the diffident and unassuming die neglected; and their share in life is gall and bitterness of soul.†

Obscurity is equally an obstacle to any production, literary or scientific. Can any merit appertain to the performance of an individual, dignified nei-

* Tacitus. † Thomson.

ther with academical honours, nor distinctive elevation, is too common a query, made by the prejudiced and more fortunate.—Many other disadvantages attend the diffident, private, yet studious person, who hazards a publication: his means may be inadequate to purchase many books, and his modesty prevent him from borrowing; access to valuable libraries is difficult, where such exist; and where there are no such libraries, his case is irremediable. Should he solicit the assistance of a literary friend to revise his intended publication; apathy or envy urges him to stand aloof, and desert the author; when by a friendly interchange of thought labour is much diminished, and the work rendered more accurate and useful; an object, it is presumed, every author has in view. But such liberality and kindness is not to be experienced always, even from those whom prior and similar obligations ought to influence. Let such bear in mind that “*meminisse post gloriam Invidiam sequi.*”^{*} Early assistance in an undertaking is kind and acceptable; and late help, when one emerges out of a difficulty, has been aptly compared to the proffered friendship of a person who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and when he has reached the ground, encumbers him with help.†

“*Quisquis habet nummos, securâ naviget aura,
Fortunamque suo temperet arbitrio.*”—*Petronius.*

The sentiments, political and theological, interspersed throughout these memoirs, can offend only the unorthodox and disloyal: whose favours he dreads, as much as he abhors their pernicious principles. The tendency of both is to anarchy and confusion.

* Sallust. † Dr. Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield.

INTRODUCTION, AND VINDICATION OF THE BRITISH HISTORY.

A PECULIARITY that strikes strangers in perusing the Welsh histories, or other publications having a relation to the principality, is the ancient divisions and subdivisions of the dominion of Wales into Cantrefs* and Cwmwds;† divisions, differing from all others in Britain, and in sound, uncouth, strange and unmeaning.

Sir John Price has left us the Topography of Wales, divided as above, which was augmented by Humphrey Llwyd, and stands at the head of our earlier Welsh histories.—A map of Wales, according to the ancient divisions of Gwynedd, Powys, and Dinesawr, with their respective cantrefs, subdivided into cwmwds (commots) by Mr. Owen, is given in Warrington's History of Wales.—They are also carefully recorded in the *Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales*, with a list of all the towns and parishes in those districts. v. 2. p. 606.—Mr. Carlisle, likewise with the greatest propriety, has most faithfully retained them in his accurate, and valuable *Topographical Dictionary of the Dominion of Wales*.

Cantref is synonymous, in the main, with the

* Cantref, κατομωλις

† Cwmwd, provincia, regio. Forte Cymmod, cohabitantia, a Cyd, and Bôd. Rhinc Cymmydog, proximus, &c.—*Dr. Davies's Dict.*

present *hundred*, and *cwmwd* signifies a community, vicinity, or proximity of habitations. Warrington says, "according to the ancient division of Wales, settled by its laws, a *cantref* contains *two commots*; a *commot*, twelve manors; a manor, four townships."—This explanation is not correctly true. A great many cantrefs will be found to contain *three*, and not two *commots*.

Many of the deaneries, hundreds, churches, castles, and manors still retain the ancient names. And our hero, Owen ap Gryffydd Vychan (Vaughan) was termed *Glyndwr*, from a *cwmwd* in Cantref-y-Barwn, in the kingdom or sovereignty of Powys, called *Glyndwrddy*, or the valley of the *Dee*.

Cambria, the *Britannia secunda* of the Romans, inhabited by the Silures, Ordovices, and Dimetæ, was partitioned by Roderic the great into three sovereignties—Gwynedd, Powys, and Dinesawr. —Venedotia, Gwynedd or North Wales, comprised the counties of Anglesea, Carnarvon, part of Merioneth, part of Denbigh, and a portion of Flint. The residence of the sovereigns of this district was at Aberffraw in Anglesea. This kingdom consisting of four grand divisions, Anglesea, Arvon, Merionydd, and Perfeddwlad, was bounded on the west and north, by the Irish sea; on the south west, by the river Dyfi, which separated it from South Wales; and on the south and east, was divided from Powys and England by mountains and rivers, particularly the *Dee*.

Môn, or Anglesea, contained three cantrefs: viz. Cantref Aberffraw, subdivided into *cwmwds*, Llifon and Malldraeth; Cantref Cemaes, into Tal-y-bolion and Twr-celyn; Cantref Rhosir, into Tindaethwy and Menai.

Arvon, called from its situation opposite to, or

above Môn, contained four cantrefs: viz. Cantref Aber, having in it the cwmwds of Llechwedd Uchaf, Llechwedd Isaf, and Nantconwy; Cantref Arfon, having Uwchgwyrfai and Isgwyrfa; Cantref Dunodig, having Ardudwy and Yfionydd; Cantref Lleyn, having Cymytmaen, Dinlleyn and Canologion.

Meirionydd, contained three cantrefs: viz. Cantref Meirion, subdivided into cwmwds, Tal-y-bont, Pennal, and Ystymanor; Cantref Arustly, into Uwchcoed, Iscoed, Gwrthryniôn; Cantref Penllyn, into Uwchmeloch, Ismeloch, and Mignant.

Perfeddclad, the inward or middle part, contained five cantrefs: viz. Cantref Rhyfoniog, having in it the cwmwds of Uwchaled and Isaled; Cantref Ystrad, having Hiraethog and Cynmaerch; Cantref Rhôs, having Uwchdulais, Isdulais, and Creuddyn; Dyffryn Clwyd, having Coleigion, Llanerch and Dogfeilyn; Cantref Tegeingl, having Cynsylvll, Prestatyn, and Rhuddlan.

The dominion of Powys comprised the county of Montgomery, part of Merioneth, part of Denbigh, part of Flint, part of Radnor, the cantref of Buallt, in the county of Brecon, and part of the counties of Chester and Salop.—The residence of the princes of this principality was at Mathraff, in Montgomeryshire. It was broken into the divisions of Powys Fadog and Powys Wenwynwyn. Bounded on the north by North Wales, on the east by the country which lies between Chester and Hereford, on the south by England, and on the west by the river Wye, and by mountains which divide it from South Wales.

Powys Fadog contained five cantrefs: viz. Cantref-y-Barwn, subdivided into the cwmwds of Dinmael, Edeyrnion, and Glyndwrddwy; Cantref-y-

Rhwy, into Iâl, and Ystrad Alun; Cantref-uwch-Nant, into Merffordd, Maelor Cymraeg and Maelor Saesneg; Cantref Trefred, into Croesfaen, Tref-y-waun and Croesyswallt; Cantref Rhaiadr, into Mochmant-is-Rhaiadr, Cyullaeth and Nanthudwy, also the lordship of Whittington.

In Powys Wenwynwyn were five cantrefs: viz. Cantref-y-Fyrnwy, containing the cwmwds of Mochmant-uwch-Rhaiadr, Mechain-is-coed, and Llanerch Hudol; Cantref Yslog, containing Deuddwr Cor-ddwr and Ystrad Marchell; Cantref Llyswynaf contained Caereinion, and Mechain-uwch-coed; Cantref Cydewain, containing Cygan and Hafren; Cantref Cynan, containing Cyfeiliog and Mawddwy.

A third part belonging to Mathrafal, was the land between the Wye and the Severn. It appertained to Athelstan Glodryd, the founder of the fifth royal tribe, and then called Ferlis, and independent of the princes of South Wales,* at the period when the three principalities were united into one kingdom, in the person of Howell Dda.

This District comprised four cantrefs: viz. Cantref Maellienydd, containing the cwmwds of Ceri, Swydd-y-gre, Rhiwalwallt, and Glyn Ieithon; Cantref Elfel, containing Uwch-mynydd, Is-mynydd, and Llechddyfnog; Cantref-y-clawdd, containing Dyffryn Teyfediad, Swyddwynogion, and Penwellt. Cantref Buallt, containing Swydd-y-faw, Dreylus, and Isorewyn.

Dinefawr, Deheubarth or South Wales, comprised the counties of Cardigan, Pembroke, Caermarthen, Glamorgan, part of Brecknock, part of Radnor, part of Gloucester, part of Hereford, and Gwent, or the county of Monmouth.—The residence of the princes of this extensive dominion was at Dinefawr.

* *Yorke's Royal Tribes of Wales*, p. 189.

This kingdom was encompassed by Saint George's channel, the Bristol channel, and the rivers Wye, Dyfi, and Severn.

Dinefawr was divided into six parts: Caredigion; Dyfed, Caerfyrddin, Morganwg, Gwent, and Brycheiniog.

Caredigion, or Cardigan, contained four cantrefs: viz. Cantref Penwedig, subdivided into the cwmwds of Geneu'r Glyn, Perfedd, and Creuddyn; Cantref Canol, into Mefenydd, Anhunog and Penarth; Cantref-y-castell, into Mabwynion, and Caeredros; Cantref Syrwen, into Gweinionydd and Iscoed.

Dyfed, or Pembroke, contained eight cantrefs: viz. Cantref Emlyn, subdivided into the cwmwds of Uwch-cuch, Is-cuch, and Llefethr; Cantref Arberth, Penrhyn-yr-Elays, Esterolef and Talacharn; Cantref Dangleddu, into Amgoed, Pennaut, and Eselfre; Cantref-y-coed, into Llanbauaden, and Cas Gwys; Cantref Penfro, into Coed-yr-Haf, Maenorbyr, and Penfro; Cantref-y-Rhôs, into Hwlfordd, Castell Gwalehmai and Ysgarn; Cantref Pybidiog, into Mynyw, Pencaer and Pybidiog; Cantref Cemaes, into Uwchnefer, Isnefer, and Trefdraeth.

Caerfyrddin, or Caermarthen, contained four cantrefs: viz. Cantref Ffyniog, having in it the cwmwds of Harfryn, Derfedd and Isgenen; Cantref Eginog, having the cwmwds of Gwyr (now a part of Glamorgan) Cydweli and Carnwyllion; Cantref Bychan, having the cwmwds of Mallaen, Cao and Maenor Deilo; Cantref Mawr, having the cwmwds of Cethiniog, Elfed and Uwchdryd and Wydigada.

Morganwg, or Glamorgan, was divided into four cantrefs: viz. Cantref-cron-nedd, or Glynnedd, subdivided into Rhwng-nedd-ac-afan, Pen-y-bont (alias Tir-yr-hwndrwd) and Glynogwr; Cantref Penythan,

into Meisgyn, Glynrhonddu, Talafan and Rhuthyn; Cantref Breiniol, or Brenhinol, into Cibwyr, Sanghenydd, Uwchcaeth and Iscaeth; Cantref Gwentlwg (now in Monmouthshire) into Yr Ardd Ganol and Eithaf Dylogion.

Gwent, or Monmouthshire, was divided into three cantrefs: viz. Cantref-y-mynydd, in Gwent-iscoed, subdivided into the cwmwds of Lleshydd-iscoed and Tref-y-grug; Cantref Gwent-uwch-coed, into Brynbyga, Uwch-coed, Teirdref, Erging and Ewyas, Herefordshire; Cantref Coch, (of which we have no subdivisions extant) now the Forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire.

Brycheiniog, or Brecknock, was divided into three cantrefs: viz. Cantref Selyf, subdivided into the cwmwds of Selyf and Trahaiarn; Cantref Canol into Talgarth, Ystradwy, and Brwynllys; Cantref Mawr, into Tir Raulff, Llywel, and Cerrighywel.

Our best antiquaries suppose the lesser divisions to have been *Bods*, *Tref's*, and *Caers*.—*Bod* was the mansion of a Regulus on his first settlement in a district. The land allotted to his dependants was the *tref*. The inclosure of such land, for defence or convenience, might have been the *Caer*.* Many

* Rowland's Mon. Antiq. pp. 28, 21, 31.

Caer is apparently derived from the Hebrew. קיר the flat wall of a house, or קריה a city or great town. In the Chaldee and Syriac (or East and West Aramean as now termed קריה, קריא, and קריתא, are the words for city. Hence, in the Punic, the famous Carthage had in part its ancient name *Carthada*; q. d. קרתא חרתא the New City.—Edward Lwyd supposes *Caer* meant originally a Wall, fortress or inclosure; as many *Caeraw* on mountains, which have never been towns, but hill fortresses.—He also observes, that the Britons prefixed *Caer* to the Roman stations, as Caerlleion. But, query, might not those stations have been British *Caers* prior to the Roman conquest? J. Caius, from Ger. Tilberiensis, says that *Cair* in the language of *Troy* meant a city. The Welsh call it *Caer Dreo*.—Vld. Parkhurst's Heb. Lexicon, in voc. קרה.

bods constituted a *tref*, or township; a hundred *trefs* were denominated a *cantref*. For the better administration of justice, and collecting the revenues, every *cantref* (as we have already seen) was divided into *commots*, each of which, comprising so many *bods* and *trefs*, formed a distinct precinct, and was called a *manor*, possessing a separate court and jurisdiction.—In general, the prince had a *llys* or palace in every *cantref*, with other conveniences, and appendages to his dignity, as an officer to support the king's feet at banquets; the footstool of his throne, and the guard of his person.

et nos aliquod nomenque decusque,
Gessimus. VIRGIL.

There were courts of *cantrefs*, and courts of *commots*; besides the principal court, which was usually held at the king's chief residence: and courts extraordinary, appointed to hear and determine extraordinary causes.

The princes of Wales were entitled to certain rents, services, and customs, as original landlords of their dominions. The services were military and legal attendance on the courts of law. The rents and customs were various, peculiar to the state of society and exigency of the times. In every *cwmwd*, two townships remained in the prince's private possession, ungranted to any subject or vassal.—Edward the III. who experienced unremitting loyalty and affection from the Welsh, apprized that certain services and tribute had been paid to the native princes of Wales, and unwilling that his good subjects of that principality should not contribute something towards his revenue, caused an *extent* to be made for ascertaining such rents and services, in order that a commutation be

made in lieu of them, in money, to be paid into the English exchequer. The information requisite to perfect and complete this survey, was obtained by swearing a jury of twelve men: the names of whom are entered at the head of the report for each of the commots.*

Fastidiousness, under the imposing term of an ardent love of truth, is too apt to depreciate any thing Cambrian, Scottish, or Hibernian. To these Celtic nations, even existence is not allowed before the Romans invaded Britain. Though the conquerors admit both their existence and military prowess.—The disposition to derogate from the antiquity of history, the authenticity of literature, the genuineness of bardic productions, in a word, any thing appertaining to the forementioned Celtic branches, has been notoriously prevalent, “To define genius by the points of the compass” is invidious. “When rivers define the limits of abilities, as well as the boundaries of countries,”† no historical fact, nor literary production is admissible, if it comes from beyond certain defined limits. This spirit of cavilling, illiberal, as it is unjust, discovered itself very early. No sooner had Jeffrey of Monmouth published *Brut y Brenhinoedd*, than a host attacked him; English, French, Dutch and Welsh,‡ declared it to be a fabrication of Galfriad ap Arthur.—The *Brut* was undoubtedly the production of Tyssyllo, a British bishop, (nearly contemporary with Nennius) the supporter of the British church against the usurpation of Austin. Tyssyllo

* Vide Mr. Carlisle's Topographical Dictionary, preface, p. xviii. who cites the *Cambrian Register*, 1796, v. 2. p. 396. N. and Harl. M.S.S. No. 3632. 8vo. Edward III. for his authorities.

† Preface to Ossian's Poems.

‡ Giraldus, a Fleming rather, resident in Wales.

is generally supposed to have continued the history from the Roman conquest to his own time, 660; carried on afterwards by another hand to the death of Cadwalader. Jeffrey, agreeable to the then existing taste, embellished his florid translation with every monkish legend he could collect, which conduced most materially to bring our most early annals into disrepute, and served as a stalking-horse, for scrutinizing every ancient British document by the severest criticism and illnatured scepticism. The historical origin of most nations is buried in fables or lost in obscurity. That of our own is no exception. The Celts are supposed to have been once masters of Europe from the mouth of the river *Oby*, in Russia, to Cape Finis-terre, in Spain. Though a powerful, warlike nation, they were highly negligent in recording their deeds. Tradition, and the songs of their bards were their original annals. Tradition is too apt to magnify, and bards not given to extenuate. Hence the marvellous, the fable, so common in ancient histories: and in which our countryman Jeffrey was determined not to be behind-hand with other annalists. Jeffrey, however, confesses, that he received the manuscript from Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford.* The British descent of Brutus was not among its exceptionable parts, when the history made its first appearance. Arthur's successful career against the Saxons derogated much from the

* Walter de Mapes was chaplain to Henry I. He was son of Blondel de Mapes, a joint adventurer with Fitzhamon, and obtained the lands of Gweirydd ap Seisyllt, Lord of Llanccarfan: but he had the generosity to marry *Flur*, Gweirydd's only daughter. He built the village of Tref Walter (Walterston) with a mansion for himself. With an integrity uncommon to the Lords Marchers he restored most of the lands to the original proprietors, and built the present church of Llanccarfan, Glamorgan. Walter was a wit. His Latin

valour of their arms, and Merlin's prophecies were galling subjects. William of Newborough first questioned the veracity of Jeffrey's history. Defeated in his expectation of succeeding Jeffrey in the see of Saint Asaph, which honour Dafydd ap Owen refused him, in a fit of mortification impugned our historian, charged him with interpolating the original copy, and, guided by resentment, abused the whole Welsh nation.

Huntingdon, Hoveden, Matthew of Westminster, are more candid, and allow Jeffrey due honour. — His history, with all its faults, coincides with Gildas, the poetical fragments of Taliesyn, the Saxon manuscript, and other documents antecedent to Jeffrey. The genuineness of the ancient British poems, which corroborate history, has been so ably vindicated* from the objections of such as will allow the ancient Britons neither antiquity, genius, nor common sense, that another attempt to invalidate *their authenticity* will not be made soon.

It has been urged repeatedly that the want of

lines in praise of wine are still extant, but too profane for insertion. — His rhymes against the pope, for prohibiting the clergy to marry, begin thus :—

Prisciani regula peritus cessatur,
Sacerdos per hic et hæc olim declinatur;
Sed per hic solummodo nunc articulatur,
Cum per nostrum presulem hæc admoveatur.

* Vide Mr. Carlisle's *Top. Dict. in voce Walterson, and Hist. of Popery.*

* Vide Turner's *Vindication of the Genuineness of the Ancient British Poems of Ancurin Taliesyn, Llywarch Hen and Merdhin.*

Welsh literature seems to emerge gradually from its ill fated obscurity. The active and munificent editors of the *Welsh Archaeology*, have rescued many M.S.S. from the oblivion they were consigned to. Many monuments of great value remain still unpublished, both in public and private libraries. The remains of British genius, in Latin and Welsh, in history, antiquities, morals, and poetry, are numerous and deserving of a better fate. Above 1000 M.S.S. of Welsh literature are supposed to exist.

letters was a bar which prevented the ancient Britons from conveying intelligence of their affairs to posterity. In this objection, the Saxons have measured their neighbours' abilities by their own *then* illiterate standard. Cædwalla, one of their kings, at the end of one of his charters, very honestly confesses, "*propria manu, pro ignorantia litterarum, signum sanctæ crucis expressi et subscripsi.*"—When invited to Britain by Vortigern, they were so illiterate, that they could neither read nor write. The ancient Britons, in the sequel, will appear to have furnished their conquerors with an alphabet. A single instance of Saxon learning is not extant prior to their coming to England. For had they brought the use of letters with them, as Rowland remarked, surely some remains of their literature, in M. S. S. or inscriptions, would have been left in the country they deserted, unless it be alledged that they came over to a man, and brought with them their books and their very tombstones. In no part of Germany is there such a character as that which they termed *Saxon*, and claimed erroneously as appertaining exclusively to their nation.

Seeing that the ancestors of cavilling Newborough were not early in possession of an A, B, C. Our next position is, that the Britons had letters and even learning at a very early period.—In Dr. Stukeley's impressions of the coins of the Britons, there is one from a coin of *Bleiddyd*, or *Bladud*, king of Britain, above nine hundred years before Christ. This is now lodged in the Cotton Museum. There are others of Manogan, about 130 years before the Christian era. Whereas their great philologist, Dr. Johnson, who examined every Saxon record extant, asserts them to have been a people without learning, and *very probably* without an al-

phabet.—Juvenal says, Gallia caesidicos docuit facunda Britannos, nor can we suppose the British youth, whom Tacitus compliments for their acquirements, should neglect so requisite a qualification as writing. That they acquired the art from the Romans is a general concession. Even then, the Britons had an alphabet many centuries prior to the Saxons, as the most liberal of their own nation acknowledge them to have been several centuries behind other European states in literature. The nation, therefore, with all their excellence in every branch of learning, are under the necessity of confessing their very alphabet, the very elements of science, to have been borrowed from either the Britons or Irish; which both nations lay claim to, and to this day it may be said, *Sub iudice lis est.*

The annals of a nation, preserved by tradition, the songs of the bards, and genealogies of princes and chieftains, were very naturally recorded as soon as the Britons had the use of letters; which we have seen, was at a very early period. No Cambro-Briton, of the present day, is credulous enough to believe the whole indiscriminately of our ancient histories, which, with records contemporary and parallel, nay, of Greece and Rome, may savour of the *sublime*, though not wholly to be rejected on that account. We claim the same candour that is patiently bestowed on similar histories. According to the old adage, "Losers have a right to speak;" the conquered cannot part with their annals, though deprived of their territory. And the victors, by the bye, detract from their own valor, by discrediting and vilifying their adversaries; representing them as of yesterday, possessed of neither antiquity, prowess, nor any quality in common with mankind. The Romans were more ge-

nerous in their conduct, and liberal in sentiment. At the same time that they extol their own victories, they magnify the courage of the Britons; allowing them bravery in the field, genius and abilities in their affairs, and eloquence in defence of their altars and homes.

We owe obedience to our monarch, which we most readily discharge; we acknowledge that our conquest was an act of providence, a termination of internal feuds and external warfare. We feel much obligated to English genius for its lucubrations in every department of science, and yield due deference to the disquisitions of our conquerors in branches of literature, of which they can adequately and competently form a judgment; but our Tysilio, our Nennius, our Aneurin, Taliesyn, or Llywarch Hên, we cannot resign, to gratify criticism, which will allow neither antiquity nor eminence to to any nation but its own. Let the affection be termed prejudice, national vanity, or ancestral pride, we shall not desert our historians nor renounce our bards. It proved too hard for Edward's mandaté of excision to extirpate the order, nor is it in the power of time to annihilate their songs, nor of prejudice to invalidate their authenticity; *Gildas* alone is conceded to us without murmur. The subject of the book was pleasing to a Saxon ear. It inveighed against the British kings and clergy; a subject ever pleasing, ever acceptable! Though *Gildas* (when he censures British vice, deprecates Scottish outrage and Pictish violence) is pointedly severe on Saxon cruelty, still, we are welcome to him. His invectives are grateful, his reproach acceptable. Indeed, the history of the ancient, nay, of the Cambro-Britons, contains such instances of national courage, love of liberty, a spirit of inde-

pendence and personal bravery, as to bear strong marks of the romantic, improbable and marvellous. *Brut y Tywysogion* contains many relations of martial prowess and uncommon success, unequalled almost in the tale of Arthur.—Nor is Glyndwr second to any British king or prince in military fame. How often do we find Henry the fourth of England issuing writs to lieutenants of counties, for convening the whole power of Great Britain; for what purpose? to oppose a petty lord of a manor in Wales. The war of elements, raised, as Henry fancied, by our Hero's magic, was as destructive to the English army, as a Russian winter proved to another usurper. If in the fifteenth century, unheard-of success was attributed to incantations and sorcery, why should Arthur's achievements be deemed incredible, or Jeffrey's history altogether fabulous.

Till the reign of Alfred, all the knowledge of Europe was confined to Wales and Ireland. The ignorance of these times may be collected from the words of Alfred (who was twelve years of age before he had began to read) "Very few were they on this side of the Humber who could understand their daily prayers in English, or translate any letter from the Latin. I think there were not many beyond the Humber: they were so few, that I indeed cannot recollect once single instance on the south of the Thames, when I took the kingdom."
—*Alfred's Preface*, p. 82. *Wise's asser*.

Asserus and Scotus were Alfred's preceptors; the former, chancellor to his uncle, archbishop Asser of St. David's; and the latter brought up at the college of St. David's; and both afterwards, professors at Oxford.

The Saxons, as soon as they had the use of

letters, and were converted to Christianity, became proficient in every art and science. The pupil excelled his tutor. The ancient Britons, under the advantageous tuition of the Druids, and Romans, and early converts to the Christian faith, *preceded*, and the Saxons soon *followed* with rapid steps:

Nosque ubi primus equis oriens afflavit anhelis,
Illic sera rubens accendit lumina vesper.

The term *barbarous*, applied to any nation, is uncertain and ambiguous. The Britons did not pretend to polished manners, but were possessed of generous sentiments, and tender affection.

The Ancient Britons are a hardy race,
Averse to luxury and slothful ease;
Their necks beneath a foreign yoke ne'er bow'd,
In war unconquered, and of freedom proud;
With minds resolved they lasting toils endure,
Unmix'd their language, and their manners pure,
Wisely does nature such an offspring choose,
Brave to defend her wealth, and slow to use.
Where thirst of empire ne'er inflames their veins,
Nor avarice, nor wild ambition reigns.—*Yalden*.

ERRATA.

- Page 23, line 16, Note, for *ruentum*, read *ruentem*.
81, - 15, after *in*, add *terrarum*.
46, - 28, after *Madog Grwpl*, add *father of Madog Vachan, father of Rushall, father of Gryffydd Vachan, father of Owen Glyndwr*.
53, last but one, for *Saramque*, read *clarumque*.
53, last, for *ipaa*, read *ipse*.
54, last, for *Denatus*, read *Dentatus*.
60, - 25, after *by*, add *the*.
106, - 4, for *quiet*, read *quieta*.
128, - 23, for *testimenium*, read *testimonium*.
144, - 11, Note, for *Turner*, read *Tanner*.
159, - 8, Note, after *county*, dele *of*.
164, - 13, for *condemed*, read *condemned*.
194, last, for *alter-ward*, read *after-ward*.
198, - 12, Note, for *Towler*, read *Fowler*.
236, last but one, for *prencious*, read *pernicious*.
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MEMOIRS

OF

O. GLYNDWR.

CHAP. I.

*A retrospective View of the History of Wales from its Conquest by
Edward I. to the Insurrection of Owen Glyndwr.*

THE History of the ancient Britons is a sad catalogue of crimes, of disunion, and assassination: A want of unanimity, and family feuds prevailed, which at last effected their downfall and ruin.— The reign of Owen and Lewelyn sons of Gryffydd ap Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, as joint Sovereigns of North Wales, commenced with no prospect of security, and augured no greater repose to the Principality than under the preceding princes.— Continual wars, internal broils, 'oppressive Saxon laws had broken the Welsh spirit; which disasters, and a severe famine obliged the young princes to conclude a disadvantageous peace, by resigning a large extent of their long contested and hard-fought-for territory; contracting to aid and support their victors with an army of one thousand foot, and twenty-four horse, in Wales and the Marches, and with five hundred infantry, when the requisition should be made, in any other place.

On these terms, after having sworn fealty to the King of England, they were permitted to retain the small miserable residue of their country. The services of all the Barons in Wales were to remain with the Kings of England for ever. The consequence, to the Britons, of violating the treaty was an entire forfeiture of their dominion.

The country between Chester and the river Conway, lately appertaining to Prince Edward, was let to Alan de Zouch, an English Baron, for eleven hundred marks, and a talliage was levied from the territory lately ceded in Wales, to defray an intended crusade. Gloom and inaction pervaded the Welsh nation at this juncture; but the irritable Britons could not rest long, and we shall find them roused again from their temporary lethargy, acting in consonance to the bravery and valour of their ancestors.

Owen, (who in 1242 was confined with his father in the Tower of London) not satisfied with a partner in the throne, but instigated by the demon of discord, persuaded his brother David to unite with him in an unnatural contest against Llewelyn, which terminated in a defeat. They were both taken prisoners and secured in confinement,* leaving that prince sole monarch of a kingdom, mutilated by such contentions, which continually stain the British annals.

Repeated injuries from Prince Edward and the Lords of the Marches awaken the Welsh Nobility, at length, to a sense of their degraded situation, which encouraged Llewelyn to make another effort

* Owen, commonly called *Owen Goch*, was imprisoned, according to Leland, upwards of twenty years in Dolbadarn Castle, near the lake of Llanberis, in Snowden, approachable only through narrow and rugged defiles.

for liberty and independence. Success, for some time, attended his decisive measures, he recovered Merioneth and such territories in Cardigan, as were in the possession of Edward; and part of Powys; Henry's army in South Wales was defeated and the country laid waste, several castles demolished and much spoil obtained from the vanquished enemy. Such progress was not viewed with indifference by the ambitious Edward, whose finances at this time were low, and unable to oppose Llewelyn without pecuniary assistance from his uncle the Earl of Cornwall. His preparations were of no avail, owing to heavy rains, and his success inadequate to either his vindictive spirit or ambition.—Meanwhile the victorious Welsh advanced to the gates of Chester and laid waste the frontier on each side of the Dee, which obliged Edward to give up and retreat to his uncle the King of the Romans. Aided by him and united by Gryffydd ap Madoc, Lord of lower Powys (one of our hero's ancestors) he returned, though still unable to engage or check the victorious Britons, who were now supported, by South Wales having joined in the common cause. Such a series of disasters must have wounded the vanity of a Prince of Edward's disposition, and Wales will soon be found too circumscribed for two such rivals.

Llewelyn, though dissuaded by the King of the Romans from further depredations, pursues his operations, besieges the Castle of Diganwy, a fortress of great importance, which Henry could not witness with indifference, sensible that the fate of Wales depended on it. He takes the field in person, attended by his vassals from England and Ireland; a descent was made on Anglesea by the Irish with a view to deprive the Welsh of that ma-

gazine of provision, and to starve them to subjection. Fortune, however, favoured Llewelyn; his antagonist retreated ingloriously, partly through disobedience of his orders and partly through the treachery, as has been insinuated, of his General, the Earl of Gloucester. This unfortunate campaign so affected the prince, that he came to a determination to relinquish a country, which no courage could subdue, authority restrain, nor any laws keep in subjection. Nor was Llewelyn exempt from chagrine, having been disappointed in his expectations of succour from Scotland. Notwithstanding Edward's vow, hostilities continued. Llewelyn took possession of Powys; banished Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn from that country and received the submission of the revolter of Dinas-Brân.—Henry, to crush his late confederate's desertion of the cause, marched once more in person against Llewelyn, ravaged the country, but soon retired into England, loaded with disgrace, while Llewelyn's adherents increased, who harassed the borders of England with fire, sword and desolation. A truce for one year ensued. Though prosperity had lately attended Llewelyn's arms, his country called for respite from the horrors of war, and a peace seemed equally necessary to Henry, who was engaged in disputes with his Barons, whose confines had been desolated by the in-roads of his enemies, who had left neither castle nor dwelling to stand.

Llewelyn's humanity and forbearance appear rather to a disadvantage, in following up with no greater vigour the success that attended his arms, when England was so convulsed and vulnerable; but his activity was greatly damped by the defection of a confederate, Meredydd ap Rhys, a Chieftain of S. Wales, who revolted to Henry's interest,

But, who in the succeeding part of this review, will appear on the stage once more in a more consistent character, but, alas! too late. A conference was holden at Newcastle Emlyn with a view to confirm, or enlarge the truce, or to conclude a peace. The Commissioners for Henry; Patrick de Canton and the revolter Meredydd; and for Llewelyn, his brother David (lately released), Meredydd ap Owen and Rhys ap Rhys. On this occasion, so favourable for Canton's perfidy and detestation of the Welsh, instead of treating amicably, agreeable to his commission, he falls treacherously on Llewelyn's Commissioners, kills many of them. The few that escaped raised the country, had ample revenge; and cut in pieces Patrick and his retainers.

Llewelyn still panted for peace, and made liberal offers, which the exasperated Henry refused. But continued his preparations, got his rival excommunicated, and his kingdom put under an interdict; no warlike operations ensued, and a peace was soon concluded between the two Princes at the ford of Montgomery.—A political manœuvre of Henry's, which his necessities dictated, and his convulsed government loudly called for. The Earl of Leicester, taking the advantage of Henry's indisposition in France, returns from attending him, concert measures for renewing the troubles of the nation, and enters into a confederacy with the Prince of Wales, of some importance to Wales, but badly conducted on Llewelyn's part; whose depredations in the Marches were premature, and recalled Prince Edward from France, attended with one hundred foreign knights, desirous of signalising themselves, which their leader soon gratified by marching them against Llewelyn, who retired to the mountains of Snowdon. Edward judging an attack on that post

irrelevant, is recalled by his father and thereby saves the mortification of a defeat. Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn returned at this time to his allegiance and took the Castle of Mold, a frontier castle, from the English, which, with others lately demolished by Llewelyn, rendered the English confines almost defenceless.

A dangerous rebellion now raged in England, guided by Simon de Montford, Earl of Leicester; whose two sons were sent to co-operate with Llewelyn. They were very successful though opposed by Mortimer and other Lords of the Marches, and took the Castle of Radnor. Edward made reprisals, but a truce soon followed, and Llewelyn and Montford were pardoned. Henry and Edward having fallen into Montford's power, at the battle of Lewis; the former is marched as a pageant of state in his conqueror's army to the borders of Wales, and the latter left a prisoner at Hereford. The submission of the Lords of the Marches and surrender of their estates soon followed; and also the defeat of Prince David and Lord Audley at Chester. After Edward's escape from Hereford, he is joined by the Lords of the Marches, takes a portion of country between Hereford and Chester, and Montford found himself surrounded, but was protected by Llewelyn on condition of restoring him the inheritance and dignity of his ancestors, sanctioned by the King's name; to which Montford added, with a view of consolidating the union, an offer to the Prince of his daughter Eleanor de Montford; an alliance which afterwards took place. Thus reinstated in his dominions, Llewelyn made an inroad into Glamorgan, the Earl of Gloucester's territory: he likewise aided his old confederate Leicester now much harassed by Prince Edward, to whose enterprising

spirit death put a final period, and gave liberty to the captive Henry.

The death of Montford and submission of the malecontents gave the King of England an opportunity of retaliating on the Prince of Wales; and with this view marched against him unprotected, and unsupported by either friend or ally. Llewelyn's submission prevented the blow and secured him both his dominions and the homage of his Barons, Meredydd excepted, who was reserved as a subject to England.—A short season of tranquillity was enjoyed by the Welsh during Edward's crusade, from which Henry's death recalled him. After Edward's return and coronation, Llewelyn received summons to appear at different places to do homage and fealty, with which he did not comply, as pledges were refused for his safe conduct. His father's fate was a proof of English honour: and Edward's conduct on the following occasion did not serve to do away the odium.—Eleanor de Montford, niece of the late Henry, had been betrothed to Prince Llewelyn, but the marriage was deferred, and the lady on her father's death retired to the monastery of Montargis in France; at which court also the Countess of Leicester and her brother resided. Being demanded of the French King by the Prince of Wales, she set sail for the coast of Wales, attended by her brother Amaury, a Clergyman, to solemnize her marriage; but near the Scilly Isles, she was taken by four ships from the port of Bristol and conveyed to the English court, and there detained in attendance on the Queen, while her brother was imprisoned in different castles, until demanded by the Pope as his chaplain.

Fired with resentment at Edward's ungenerous

behaviour, Llewelyn ravaged the English borders, as became an injured Prince, instead of obeying the injunction for him to appear at the English court, to perform the duties of a vassal. He offered a large sum of money as a ransom for Eleanor de Montford, without effect, as Edward would restore her on no other conditions, than the Prince of Wales's relinquishment of his late conquests and the reparation of some demolished castles; which he rejected with disdain. Sentence was passed upon him for contumacy, rebellion and treason. Grants were made by the laity and clergy to enable the English monarch to crush his rival in arms; and Rhys ap Meredydd, Lord of Dynevawr, revolted to the English, followed by all the Lords in South Wales. Such mighty preparations, such unprincipled defection, must have ultimately prevailed against a Prince of very unequal power or resources. To avert the impending blow Llewelyn retired to the mountains of Snowdon, from whence, had he laid in a sufficient supply of provision, he might have baffled the whole force of England; but threatened by famine, he had no alternative but to sue for mercy.—The terms proposed by Edward were, Llewelyn's submission to *his* clemency; the release of all prisoners confined by Llewelyn for adhering to the English cause; a compensation of fifty thousand marks for injuries committed; with many others equally ignominious and oppressive, which the Prince of Wales was obliged to accept, and also restore to his brother Owen the estate he had forfeited, and to pay Roderick and David, the former an annuity of one thousand marks, and the latter five hundred.

Roderick had lately escaped out of prison, and Owen was also released by this treaty. David was

high in Edward's favour; married to the Earl of Derby's daughter; appointed seneschal and keeper of all the castles in Wales; proprietor of the castles of Denbigh and Frodsham, with land of the yearly value of one thousand pounds. The English king remitted to Llewelyn the 50,000 marks, and also the 1000 marks stipulated to be paid annually for the Isle of Anglesea, as a deduction from the severity of the treaty.—Having, to all appearance, conquered Wales, Edward returned to England, attended by the Prince of Wales, who swore fealty to him in the presence of many prelates and of all the nobility of the realm.

Many causes of animosity subsisted, and the following, trivial in itself, accelerated the final rupture. Many barons and noblemen of Wales, with large retinues, attended their prince to London, and were quartered at Islington and the adjacent villages. A change of diet, from milk's "nectarious sweets," to wine and beer; the stare of the Londoners, and reflections on their ancient British garb, disgusted a temper, nationally irascible, and determined them to revolt: "No," cried the indignant Britons, "We never again will visit Islington, except as conquerors."—The next year Llewelyn was summoned to Glastonbury, with a view of eradicating a popular delusion, then very prevalent in Wales, and still handed down among the common people, that the celebrated Arthur was still alive; to which summons he paid no respect.*—With a view to force

* The British Hero lay interred at Glastonbury; the policy of Edward could not leave his remains undisturbed, but ordered his body and that of Gweniver, his Queen, to be exposed to public view. They were afterwards repositied near the high altar, with an inscription on the coffin, signifying, that they were the remains of Arthur, and had been viewed by the King and Queen of England, in

obedience and check the contumacy of a vassal, Edward and his Queen repaired to Worcester, from whence orders were sent Llewelyn to appear and account for his late conduct; these orders he obeyed, being qualified by an invitation to a feast, and an assurance of honourable treatment, and the hand of Eleanor de Montford as a reward of his obedience.—A rigorous ceremony ensued. After such humiliating rite, Edward graciously pardoned his delinquency; delivered up Eleanor de Montford to him, with her father's estate, and the marriage was celebrated on the 13th October, 1278, at the expense of the King of England, who, with his Queen, graced the nuptials.

Eleanor soon died in child-bed, and every tie of union subsisting between the two nations was loosened; an opportunity offered to the enraged barons to throw off their allegiance, as they lately vowed to do. The spirit of the country was roused, and the cause became common. English laws were substituted for British jurisprudence, and a cause depending between the Prince of Wales and Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn was ordered to be heard at Montgomery, and not at the spot of land in dispute, according to the ancient usage; Llewelyn, as justified by the articles of the late treaty, refused to repair to Montgomery, or to any other place to receive judgment respecting the suit.

the presence of the Earl of Savoy, the elect Bishop of Norwich, and several noblemen and clergy.—Camden relates that Henry II. having learned from the British Bards, that Arthur had been buried at Glastonbury, between two Pyramids, ordered a search to be made. At the depth of seven feet was found a stone, whereon was fastened a rude leaden cross, with this inscription, "Hic jacet sepultus inclitus Rex Arturius in Insula Avalonia." At nine feet deep, a coffin, containing the bones of Arthur was found. The Sarcophagus was a hollowed oak.—*Camden's Britannia*, p. p. 64, 65.

Edward, during this time, being at Aust Ferry on the Severn, sent an invitation to Llewelyn, who was on the other side, to come and settle the matter in dispute; and on his refusal, took boat, and crossed over to him; who, overcome by such condescension, leaped into the river to receive him: assuring the king, "that his humility had conquered his own pride, and that his wisdom had triumphed over his folly."

Prince David, whom we have left in Edward's service, laden with honours and preferments, seemed awakened at last from his torpor and delusion.—A prospect of succeeding to the sovereignty of Wales upon the demise of his brother; the precarious tenure of the property he held under Edward; vexatious suits and menaces from one William Venable respecting the village of Hope or Estyn, and other injuries equally poignant, operated on David to a reconciliation with his brother, and a revolt from the cause of a merciless ravager.

A general insurrection being concerted, Prince David, eager to retrieve the honour he had forfeited, commenced the campaign by taking the Castle of Hawarden; the governor, Roger de Clifford, justiciary of Wales, was wounded and carried in chains to Snowdon.

The castles of Flint and Rhuddlan were invested by Llewelyn and David's united forces. The Castle of Aberystwith surprised by Rhys ap Maelgwyn, and Gryffydd ap Meredydd: the counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen ravaged; and numerous parties poured upon the Marches of England, and deluged the country with devastation and ruin.

Edward, unsuspecting of these proceedings, was keeping his Easter at the Devizes. The revolt soon determined his conduct; but previous to mil-

tary operations, spiritual censures were thundered against Llewelyn and his adherents.—Large subsidies, and loans were granted by the nobility, prelates, clergy and laity, both of England and Ireland, towards carrying on so *just* and *necessary* a war, against a nation, occupying a trifling extent of country, and scattered over a few barren mountains. On Edward's advance to put these preparations in execution, the Welsh princes retreated towards their natural national fortress, Snowdon, with reluctant steps. An opportunity offering, they sallied from their retreat, defeated a detachment of the English army, took fourteen standards, killed Lords Audley and Clifford, the son of William de Valenoe, Richard de Argenton; and obliged Edward, covered with disgrace, to seek an asylum in *Hope* Castle, a fortress he had lately taken.

Several memorials were interchanged, at this time, without any success. The Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the Welsh nation once more accursed, and from the plenitude of his power, thundered ecclesiastical judgments upon them for defending their altars and homes.—The Island of Anglesea was taken by the English vessels, the inhabitants supporting Edward's interest. A bridge of boats was formed, over which they meant to cross the straits of Menai, but being counteracted in their project by the Britons, a party passed over at low water. Richard ap Walwyn, commander of these posts, knowing that the tide would soon flow and intercept their retreat, gave them no molestation in their march. As soon as the Menai had risen so high as to prevent any communication with the island, they are attacked and pursued with great slaughter into the water. Encumbered with weight of armour many were drowned. Fifteen

knights, thirty-two esquires, and one thousand common soldiers were slain or perished. This disaster, so humiliating to Edward's views, augured success to Llewelyn, who now, according to Merlin's prophecy, was to wield the sceptre of Brutus, and pursuant to the prediction of a soothsayer, to ride through Cheapside with a crown on his head. —The late fortunate rencontre inspired Rhys ap Maelgwyn, and Gryffydd ap Meredydd, with fresh courage, though lately worsted near Llandeilo-fawr by the Earl of Gloucester and Sir Edward Mortimer. They animated and urged the Prince of Wales to follow up the victory he had so gloriously won. Llewelyn entered into correspondence with Edward's adherents in the Marches and South Wales, and flattered himself with being reinforced, and enabled to strike a decisive blow. To reanimate his allies, he goes to S. Wales, and entrusted Snowdon to David's care; he, in transitu, over-run Cardiganshire and Ystrad Towi, in Carmarthenshire. To oppose this sudden rapid movement, Oliver de Dineham and other noblemen in the west are ordered to pass over the mouth of the Severn to Carmarthen, and support the king's generals in that country.—Llewelyn proceeded to Bualt to confer with the lords of that country. His sole anxiety was to secure the principal pass into the country, that no danger might arise from the north. The main body of his army was posted on a mountain near the Wye, and a body of troops at Pontorewyn, which commanded the pass over that river. Secured thus from any sudden attack, he proceeded unarmed, and attended by his esquire alone, to the spot agreed upon for the conference. Immediately after his departure, the bridge was attacked by John Gifford and Sir Edmund Morti-

mer at the head of the men of Bualt, but could make no impression on that post. What valour could not accomplish, treachery soon effected. Helias Walwyn, supposed to be a native of the country, pointed to a ford below the bridge, through which he led a detachment, and assaulted the Welsh, who, being attacked in front and rear, gave way, and the remainder of the English army passed over the bridge.—On the first assault, Prince Llewelyn's esquire informed him of the outcry at the bridge, who enquired eagerly if his soldiers were in possession of that post, and being informed they were, calmly replied, "he then would not stir from thence, though the whole power of England was on the other side of the river." The small grove, fixed on for the conference, where Llewelyn now was, being instantly beset by the enemy's horse, he endeavoured to join the troops he had stationed on the mountain, but was discovered by Sir Adam de Francton, who, not knowing him, stabbed him with a spear, unarmed and defenceless. Francton, after the bloody deed, regardless of the quality of the person he had wounded, immediately joined his army then endeavouring to dislodge the Welsh from their post. They met with a very spirited opposition, but English tactics prevailed over British courage. The action was doubtful for more than three hours, the Welsh at last gave way, leaving two thousand men, a third of their brave army, dead in the field of battle.

The unfortunate Llewelyn lay during this contest, faint and expiring. A white friar, who chanced to be present, administered to him the last duties of his sacred office.

Thus died Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, after a reign

of thirty-six years; anno dom. 1282, and the 8th of Edward I.

"On the occasion of the conquest, and the death of Llewelyn, two ecclesiastical poets," says Knighton, "one a Welshman, and the other an Englishman, wrote as follows."

Wallensis,

"Hic jacet Anglorum tortor, Tutor Venedorum,
Princeps Wallorum Leolinus, regula morum,
Gemma cœvorum, flos regum præteritorum,
Forma futurorum; Dux, Laus, Lex, Lux Populorum.
Angelicus sic,

"Hic jacet errorum princeps, et prædo virorum,
Proditor Anglorum, fax lucida, secta reorum,
Numen Wallorum, trux dux, homicida piorum,
Fax Trojanorum, stirps mendax, Causa malorum."

Yorke's Royal Tribes of Wales, p. 59.

Tradition says, Llewelyn's army was posted on a hill near Mochryd, a village about three miles below Bualt, on the south side of the Wye. The prince had a castle at Aberedw, the ruins of which are still to be seen about four hundred yards from Aberedw church, near the junction of the Edw and Wye; from this castle he retired to confer with the lords of Llandovery, and to prevent a discovery, caused his horse's shoes to be reversed, as snow was on the ground. Being betrayed by the blacksmith, he was closely pursued and killed in a field about two miles above Bualt, and six from his own castle. The place is called *Cwm Llewelyn*, and the traitor stigmatized with the title of *Bradwr Aberedw*, from this event.—After Llewelyn had been thus killed, they cut off his head, and buried him near the spot; a house erected over his grave, goes by the name of *Cefn-y-bedd*. There are strong suspicions that Llewelyn was betrayed by the very lords, whom he was to have met with, and hold the conference alluded to. His head, cut off by

Adam de Francton, who had given him the mortal wound, was presented to Edward, then resident in Conway Abbey; (a gift of great value to his rival in arms) who sent it to London, and ordered it to be ornamented with a silver circle, placed on a pillory in Cheapside, in sportive allusion to Merlin's prophecy, and the soothsayer's prediction, and with other degrading insults, indicative of Edward's vindictive disposition, such as prohibiting his body to be interred in consecrated ground, and placing the head upon the highest turret in the tower of London, and suffering it to remain there, to feast the eyes of his subjects; a spectacle, by the bye, much more disgraceful to the conqueror than the conquered, who, had his military talents and patriotism been displayed on a more splendid theatre, his name would have been recorded as a most renowned hero, that had long struggled in an unequal contest, and finally fallen, unarmed, unguarded, betrayed; but not unlamented.

The King of England took advantage, before the Welsh could recover themselves after the loss of their prince, to follow up their victories. Snowdon was invested on all sides; and South Wales taken possession of by the Earl of Pembroke.

Prince David, regarding himself as the sovereign of North Wales, dreading the risque of a general engagement, remained inactive. His first act of royalty was to summon his subjects to meet him at Denbigh, to concert measures on the present emergency. A determination to assert his rights appeared in his renewal of hostilities against the English, had his countrymen made a common cause with him, but so sunk in despair were they, at this crisis, that the strong fortress of Dolbadarn, powerfully garrisoned, and accessible only by a single cause-

way, was surrendered to Edward, and every other castle soon yielded up. Caves, rocks, and woods were the shelter of a vanquished nation, and even these were not a sufficient security against the diligent pursuit of an enraged, victorious, enemy. Snowdon and its environs being desolated, Edward carried his devastation to the level parts of the country, slaughtered the inoffensive, unresisting natives without mercy. More than three thousand perished by fire, sword, and every mode of carnage. David contrived to conceal himself and family for some months in woods and marshes, almost famished for want of provisions, which could only be obtained by iterated depredations, a pittance hardly earned and precarious in the extreme.

Some of David's retainers, (supposed to be *Eineon ap Ivor*, and *Gronw ap David*, with their sons) bribed and corrupted by Edward, in the night of the 21st June, took him, his wife, his two sons and seven daughters, prisoners, as they lay secured in a morass near Denbigh, and brought them to Rhuddlan Castle, where the king then resided. Prince David's request, nay repeated solicitations, to be admitted into the king's presence, was denied, and after a short close confinement in Rhuddlan Castle, he was removed in chains to Shrewsbury. Eleven earls, and one hundred barons were commissioned to try him, as baron of *Frodsham*, in Cheshire, an honour conferred upon him by Edward, and made the instrument of his destruction.*

* He was the first who suffered the death of a traitor, in the form of the sentence now in use. His treasons to his country made his death to be the less lamented by his countrymen, and his perfidy and ingratitude to Edward, are thus set forth in the writ for the trial: "*Quem suscepimus orphanum, ditaveramus de propriis terris nostris, et sub alarum nostrarum chlamyde foveramus; ipsum inter Majores nostri Palatii collocavimus.*"—There is a stone figure of

His sentence was; "to be drawn at the tail of horses through the streets of Shrewsbury to the place of execution, as a traitor to the king. To be hanged for having murdered Fulk Trigald and other knights in Hawarden Castle. His heart and bowels to be burnt, because those murders had been perpetrated on palm sunday. His head to be cut off. His body to be quartered and hung up in four different parts of the kingdom." This cruel sentence, consisting of five different kinds of punishment, was put in execution without abating a tittle of its severity; the cities of York, Bristol, Winchester, and town of Northampton were honoured with the mangled quarters of the unfortunate prince, and his head was placed near that of his brother Llewelyn, on the tower of London.

Llewelyn and David ap Gryffydd left each a daughter, who were confined in a nunnery in England, and safely guarded by Edward's orders. Llewelyn's daughter by Eleanor de Montford, called *Catherine Lackland*, was married to Malcolm, Earl of Fife. David's daughter probably died a nun. Llewelyn's son, Madoc, (of whose insurrection we shall soon speak) must certainly have been illegitimate, as were David's children, one daughter excepted.—The remaining sovereignty of the ancient British empire terminated on the death of David. The final overthrow of a nation, whose

Gryffydd ap Dafydd Goch, of Penmachno, the natural son of prince David, recumbent in armour, in the church of Bettws-y-Coed, Carnarvonshire, with this inscription: *Hic jacet Gryffydd ap Dafydd Goch.*

"Agnus Dei,
"misere mei."

Hywel Coetmor, son of the above Gryffydd, who anciently possessed Gwydir, lies (with his Effigy in armour) in Llanrwst church.—*Yorke, p. p. 24, 25.*

empire continued in some part of Britain (according to the British annals) from the first coming of Brutus, which was in the year before Christ, 1136, to the year after Christ, 1282, being a space of 2418 years; the conquest of a people that withstood the arms of imperial Rome, and bravely, and often successfully, resisted the unprovoked attacks of the neighbouring Picts and Scots; of their treacherous hired allies, the Saxons; of marauding Flemings, Danes, and Normans; must raise, alternately, applause and sympathy, commendation and pity, in the most unfeeling breast.

The King of England having satisfied his ambition, with a view to secure his hard earned territories and rivet the fetters he had put on, divided North Wales into counties, introduced English Jurisprudence, and appointed proper officers to enforce the obedience of his reluctant subjects.—He permitted them to hold their estates under the same tenures as they enjoyed them under their native princes; he built the castles of Conway and Carnarvon, and strongly garrisoned them. He rewarded Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, with the lordship of Denbigh, and Lord *Reginald de Grey* with the lordship of Ruthyn; his other adherents of the English nobility were all amply repaid for their services by the grant of estates.—Rhuddlan, Carnarvon, and Aberystwith, were erected into corporations.—An event follows, which humanity wishes that it were obliterated from the page of history, which, if true, classes Edward with the cruelest tyrants either of ancient or modern times. A nation so given to, and influenced by, the powers of melody, as the Welsh were, must have regarded their bards as the enthusiastic springs of action. To silence such a dangerous order, Edward's re-

fixed policy ordered them to be hanged by martial law, as promoters of sedition.* This edict has very aptly been compared to the proscriptions of the Roman triumvirate, and Philip of Macedon's demand, as a condition of peace, that all the orators, the promoters of the war, should be delivered into his hands. It may also, in cruelty, vie with Bonaparte's orders of shooting the Turkish prisoners in cold blood, and poisoning his own sick, in Palestine.†

A forced union, supported by harsh oppressive measures, could not subsist long. Foreign laws, rigorous treatment, an inviolable attachment to their native princes, all conspired to make Edward and his government odious to them. They promised submission to him, if he ruled them in person, but were averse to a non-resident prince.—Their wishes were gratified. Queen Eleanor, then preg-

* "Mr. Andrews has well observed, that the tale of Edward the first's cruelty to the Bards had no foundation, but an obscure tradition, and hint in the Gwydir History. But an order at that time subsisted to silence the Welsh Bards."—*Yorke*, p. 66.

† These horrid charges against Buonaparte, first related by Sir Robert Wilson, in his History of the British Expedition to Egypt, are decidedly confirmed by Mons. J. Miot, a Frenchman, officer of the Commissariat in the expedition to Egypt: who relates the events of that campaign, and mentions the capture of Jaffa, with its accompaniments of rape, robbery, and murder. The number of prisoners butchered was 3800; of his own sick poisoned, 680.—The authenticity of Sir Robert's account was called in question and even discredited by Dr. Clarke in the second volume of his travels, but most absolutely established by the above eye witness of the transaction. Mr. Camden, another Eulogist of Buonaparte, says, "Such are the principal outlines of Lieutenant-colonel Wilson's account of this horrid massacre; but as no other writer, either French or English, takes notice of it in a similar way, it is generally disregarded, and treated as a calumny." *Hist. of Buonaparte*, vol. I. p. 331. Note.—The name of *Jaffa*, echoed by the Turks to inspire feelings of indignation and revenge,* is no longer heard in Europe without emotions of horror.* Vide Col. Lascelles' account of his capture by the Arabs, in Syria, and delivery by Sir Sidney Smith.

most, was sent for, and was delivered of a son, in Carnarvon Castle, on the 25th of April. His birth was announced to the king, at Rhuddlan, by Sir Gryffydd Lloyd (knighted on the occasion) and by the king to the Welsh captains, met in council. A native prince, who could not speak a word of English, was proposed, and the offer acceded to. On being informed that their future regent was Edward, an infant, born a few days before, at Carnarvon, their surprise was great, and swallowed, according to an ancient Briton's simile, as a draught of milk and wormwood. However, it was some consolation to think that the young prince would reside among them, and *this alone* assisted them to digest the bitter dose.—After holding a tournament at Nevin, in Carnarvonshire; residing a month in Cardigan Castle, to settle the affairs of S. Wales; Edward visited the county of Glamorgan, and was nobly entertained by the Earl of Gloucester, to whom that county belonged. From Bristol he issued a writ, exempting the inhabitants of Rhuddlan,* Conway, Carnarvon and other towns from paying talliages for ever. His return to London, after

* *Rhuddlan*.—There is now standing at Rhuddlan, part of the wall of the house wherein Edward I. held his first parliament, after the subjugation of the princoipality of Wales. The old wall has been built upon, and metamorphosed into the gable end of a row of small houses, but the very reverend the Dean of St. Asaph, has caused to be placed upon it a tablet, bearing the following inscription:—

This Fragment
Is the Remains of the Building
Where King Edward the First
Held his Parliament,
A. D. 1263.
In which was passed the Statute of Rhuddlan,
Securing
To the Princoipality of Wales
Its Judicial Rights
And Independence.

an absence of nearly three years, was attended with much pomp, and his reception worthy of the conqueror of such a powerful and extensive territory.—His eldest son, Alphonso, having died the preceding year, Edward of Carnarvon became heir apparent. Edward's policy has been called in question for making his second son a Welshman and creating him Prince of Wales, during the life of Alphonso, as the union of England and Wales, might have been impeded thereby, and the Welsh would undoubtedly have stood by their prince in preference to the eldest brother, whose right to the principality would have been barred, and the English king's address might have been thus a cause of endless wars between his own sons. Death alone prevented the dispute.—The idea that Edward of Carnarvon would have resided among them, which kept them in order for a few years, having vanished, the Welsh dropped their allegiance and took up arms against Edward and his minions in the principality, whose oppressive conduct towards the conquered would have caused a less irritable nation to hoist the standard of rebellion.—The flame first burst out in South Wales. This part of the country, after the retreat of the Romans, was divided into several principalities, as Dyfed, Caredigion, Gwent, Morganwg, Brychein-iog and Glewysing, governed by their respective Reguli; and probably acknowledged the princes of Caredigion (Cardigan) of the line of *Cynedda Wledig*, as their supreme, and continued so governed till, nearly, the period when Roderic the great divided the principality between his three sons.*

* Sir Thomas Canon of Cilgetty, in the county of Pembroke, in the time of James I. had the hardiness to maintain that, in the tripartition of Wales by Roderic, the chief portion of South Wales, with

—South Wales, the country of the *Silures* and *Dimetæ*, was sooner conquered, both by the Romans and English, than the hardy and valiant Sons of the North. It suffered early by the treachery and rebellion of Einon and Llewelyn, sons of the Lord of Pembroke, against Rhys ap Tewdwr; and Iestyn* ap Gwrgaint, Lord of Glamorgan (whom Rhys had raised to a royal tribe) who invited many barons and knights from England to his aid, who, led by Robert Fitzhammon, a chamberlain of William Rufus, met the old, but gallant Rees, near Brecknock, who fell gloriously in the defence of his country, in the ninetieth year of his age.† The Normans partitioned the country between themselves, and thus were established Lords of the Marches in Wales. This colony, and other adventurers in Brecknockshire and other counties; and the Flemings settled in Pembrokeshire, proved fatal to the independence of South Wales; whose

the palace of Dynevawr, was given to *Cadell*, his eldest son, which occasioned a warm contest, and induced a most formidable champion to enter the lists against him, viz. Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, in the county of Merioneth; who in a tract entitled, "British Antiquity revived," undertook to refute all his arguments, a task he so ably accomplished, that he may be allowed to have silenced his antagonist's battery, though so spiritedly served, and fairly to have spiked the Canon.—*Fenton's Pembrokeshire*, p. 469.

* Iestyn ap Gwrgaint was descended in the twenty-ninth generation from Caractacus: "a sorry slip from such a stock."—*Yorke*, p. 130. Powell of Ednop, author of the *Pentarchia*, writes thus:

"Ultima nunc dicenda venit Morgania tellus,
Pulchra situ, frugumque ferax et amœna locorum:
Regulus hanc tenuit titulo Jestinus avito
Gurganti proles, genus alto e sanguine Cambri;
Quem nimis incautum, nimis in Sua fata ruentum,
Perfidus impellit scelerosis artibus Eynon,
In proprium regem sine re, sine more, rebellem.

Pentarchia.

† "Actiter et pugnans, medio cadit agmine Rhesus,
Cum quo totus honor cecidit, regnumque Silurum."—*Ibid.*

princes afterwards were stiled *lords* only. When its own princes and chieftains were thus basely false to their common interest, and founders of ignominy and loss of dominion to themselves; it is not to be wondered at, that a country should fall a prey to another, contiguous, and always ready to avail itself of the disunion of its reguli and insubordination of its inhabitants.

Rebellion, having set up its banner, as aforesaid, in South Wales, owing to a citation from Robert de Tibetot (called Payne Tiptost in the Welsh Chronicle) and Alan Plucknet, (the one justiciary of South Wales, and governor of several castles, and the other the king's steward) for Rhys ap Meredydd to appear in the county courts with other Welsh noblemen.—We have witnessed this prince's revolt to the King of England's interest about the year 1277, and the baneful effect his example had on other lords, to receive their lands from Edward, and not from the Prince of Wales.—Rhys, having been knighted, proved an active partisan in the service of Edward, and evinced himself as loyal in his service, as he was perfidious to Llewelyn. His reward was fair words and cold neglect. However, as a descendant from the royal house of S. Wales, he treated the summons with contempt, alledging ancient privileges and the king's promises. Legal processes were opposed by hostile skirmishes. Edward, then in Guienne, wrote to his old faithful, trusty ally, Rhys, and ordered him to keep the peace till his return; promising redress then; but he did not find him so compliant as formerly, the sturdy knight would not relinquish the enterprize; the throne of his ancestors was a prize worth contesting for.—The Earl of Cornwall, regent of the realm, was commission-

ed to check the insurrection. Rhys, in the meantime, took the castles of Llandovery and Dynevawr, and burnt several towns. The tenants of the crown were ordered by the regent to meet at Gloucester, Llanbadarn-fawr and Monmouth, intending to attack the rebels in several quarters. He marches in person against Rhys, obliges him to retreat, takes and demolishes some of his castles.—The siege of *Dryshwyn Castle** proved fatal to Nicholas Lord Stafford and William de Monchency, other knights and esquires, who were buried in a mine. The fortress was taken, but the expedition did little credit to the military talents of the regent, who had superseded the Earl of Gloucester in the command. Gloucester's inactivity was construed into an inclination to favour the Welsh, which suspicion was greatly corroborated by his sheltering Rhys afterwards, and aiding his escape into Ireland.—The regent granted his enemy a truce, and returned to London. Hostilities were renewed by the Welsh, and the Castle of Emlyn laid siege to, in breach of the treaty so lately concluded; Rhys was proclaimed a traitor, and a price set upon his head; the English nobility on the borders were ordered to arm against the rebels. The Mortimers and other Lords Marchers, commanded by Robert de Tibetot, took a strong fortress belonging to Rhys, and obliged him to seek refuge in the Earl of Gloucester's district, by whose means he sailed into Ireland. These transactions happened in the year 1287.—Af-

* This fortress is called *Drosolan* in Caradoc's Chronicle; *Ruslin*, in Warrington's History; and *Droselan Castle*, by Yorke.—Though variously denominated, it must have been, *Dryslwyn*, in the Vale of Towy, in Carmarthenshire. The ruins of it occupy the summit of an insulated knoll, rising abruptly from the plain, in the parish of Llangathen, not far from Grongar Hill.

ter an inactive retirement of three years, Rhys returned to his dominions and made a final attempt to regain his patrimony. His force was numerous, but raw and undisciplined, opposed to the Justiciary's veterans. Four thousand Welshmen were slain, their leader Rhys taken prisoner, and soon after executed at York in the same cruel manner as the late prince had suffered at Shrewsbury; his castles and domains forfeited and bestowed on Tibetot.

Three insurrections sprung up, about the year 1293.—The cause of which was, the King of England's demand, from his new subjects, of a fifteenth of their moveables, towards crushing the French monarch, an imposition collected by Roger de Puleston, and very reluctantly paid on the part of the ancient Britons, uninured to foreign, unprecedented exactions.—Maelgwyn Vychan* headed the insurgents in West Wales, and plundered the counties of Pembroke and Cardigan. The revolt in Glamorgan, was conducted by Morgan, a chieftain, who, being joined by the Earl of Gloucester's vassals, expelled that nobleman; and reinstated himself in his ancestrel dominions. The insurgents in North Wales had Madoc, an illegitimate son of the late unfortunate Llewelyn, for their leader, having assumed the title of prince.—The tax collector, Puleston, first felt their rage and fury; whom, and all his associates, they executed and *cut off their heads*; a refinement in cruelty taught them by the English. Madoc made a great slaughter of an unarmed crowd of Englishmen, assembled at a fair in Carnar-

* The remains of his castle were visible to the west of Maenordewi church, Pembrokeshire, till Sir Benjamin Hammet built a farmhouse on the site, and transferred the name of *Castle Maelgwyn* to an old mansion, near the iron works, which he new fronted, and metamorphosed, so as to appear castle-built.

von; took the castle, and pillaged the town; and got possession likewise of the fortress in Snowdon, and the Isle of Anglesea. Edward, owing to these daring and successful skirmishes, suspended his ambitious views in France, and attempted in person to silence a nation, by whom his vicegerents were handled so roughly.—Henry Lacy, lord of Denbigh and earl of Lincoln, preceding the king, with a view to save his castle of Denbigh, was encountered by the Welsh under the walls of the fortress, defeated and obliged to retreat. Affairs in Pembroke proved disastrous. Maelgwyn with two of his adherents were taken prisoners, conveyed to Hereford, where he was drawn at the tail of horses to the place of execution, and hanged.

The Earl of Warwick obliged Morgan and seven hundred of his followers to submit to the royal clemency. The Earl of Gloucester's pride, and imperious conduct, had alienated the allegiance of his vassals; resolved never to submit to such a tyrant, they yielded themselves up to the king, gave hostages for their fidelity, on condition of holding their estates of the crown of England. Edward's presence contributed greatly to stem the current of rebellion in South Wales. The Monks of Strata Florida had assured him that the county of Cardigan was equally desirous of peace and amity, but when put to the test of submission, proved refractory; the king, as a retaliative, set fire to the abbey.—His presence being requisite to conduct the war in North Wales, Edward marched to Conway with a part of his army: retiring into the castle, waited the remainder. In ferrying the Conway he lost many waggons and other carriages laden with provisions, which had been taken by the Welsh; who rushed impetuously from the mountains and be-

sieged the castle on the land side. The king's situation at this juncture, was not an enviable one: his troops prevented from passing the river by sudden inundation; threatened with the horrors of a famine; and surrounded on every side by water and an enraged enemy. However, these distresses soon vanished. The Conway subsided; his troops came to his relief; and the siege was abandoned.—The Welsh, encamped in a valley, environed by a wood, unsuspecting of an assault, were attacked by the Earl of Warwick, whose horse they kept off for some time with their spears. Finding it impossible to make any impression on their front, which had fixed their spears in the ground, Warwick placed a cross-bowman between two horsemen, and thus fighting at a distance, numbers of the Welsh were slain, the remainder were charged by the horse, and entirely routed and defeated. Edward, after having built the castle of Beaumaris and punishing the murderers of Collector Puleston, returned with his army into England.—On the king's departure, Madoc, though defeated, and compelled to yield to superior numbers, and better disciplined troops, was still unbroken in spirit, and invaded the English borders with great fury; he reduced Oswestry; laid waste its vicinity; defeated Lord Strange near Knocking; and after defeating another body of English, advanced to Shrewsbury. In his march his forces were routed and himself taken prisoner, after a long and noble resistance, upon the hills of Cefn Digoll, not far from Cawr's Castle. His illegitimacy, we may suppose, and not leniency, debarred him the honour of hanging and quartering; his sentence was perpetual imprisonment, *durese vile*, in the Tower of London.*

* In the south aisle of Gresford Church, in the county of Denbigh,

—The Welsh chieftains, on this blast of hope, laid down their arms and submitted to the English monarch. Their estates were restored to the heirs of the rebellious, on assurance of obedience for the future, and compensation for the damages committed. As a parting compliment, Edward assured the Welsh, that the least resistance to his authority, would be the extermination, annihilation, and ruin of the nation.*—The exterminating threat had an excellent effect. The King of England found the ancient Britons loyal subjects during the remainder of his reign. Edward of Carnarvon, succeeded to the crown of England. He had a double claim on the allegiance and submission of Wales; his father's

is a figure completely armed with a mail, and a round helmet, with a lion at his feet. His shield has also the figure of a lion upon it. The following inscription is on the ledge of the tomb:

"Hic jacet Madoc ap Llewelyn ap Gruff. Obiit 1331."

* The most eminent of the nobility were confined in different castles of England, during the wars of Edward in Scotland. But the greater number were imprisoned in the tower of London. The major part of the Welsh M.S.S. were sent to the tower at the solicitation of these prisoners, and committed to the flames by one *Scolan*. On the perpetration of an act, so destructive to the annals, and literature of Wales, a Welsh bard writes thus,

"Ysgeler oedd i Scolan,
Fwrw'r twr llyfrau i'r tân."

The havoc and devastation of the ancient British M.S.S. is a continual subject of regret to the historian, antiquary, and general scholar. Bangor-is-Coed was furnished according to Langhorn and Humphrey Llwyd, with a valuable library, which was burnt to ashes by Edelfrid, when he massacred its inmates, and destroyed the college, not much less, as Bishop Lloyd asserts, than one of our present universities. A chest of records appertaining to the See of St. David's was destroyed by a flood, and great part of the M.S.S. of British authors were burnt during the civil wars.—*Fenton's Pemb.* At that period, when every monument of taste and literature was destroyed by miscreants, more ignorant and rapacious than Goths and Vandals, the superb library at Ragland Castle met with the same fate, as other splendid establishments, when objects of military spoil, and fanatic rage.—The Monks, in an age comparatively learned, termed "all ancient M.S.S. *vetusta et inutilia*;" and little attention, we may

conquest of the nation; and being himself their native, acknowledged prince.—He interested himself much in the concerns of his Welsh subjects, arbitrating the feuds, and determining the disputes among the chieftains. These condescensions on the king's part, were repaid, on the part of the Welsh, with loyalty, and a defence of his person,* when harassed by his barons, and deserted by his English subjects. He was neither warrior nor politician enough for the times; possessed no capacity to contrive, or resolution to execute any thing arduous or difficult.

The Welsh, as already observed, were, about fifteen years, very loyal and obedient to their prince. However, about the year 1322, an interruption of the peace happened, through the great rigour exercised by the officers of justice, the rapacity of the Lords Marchers, and particularly of Lord Mortimer the elder (and his adherents), a powerful peer,

suppose, was paid by the visitors at the dissolution, probably not always competent to distinguish the good from the bad; to discriminate between true history and Romish legends, to select and preserve works of merit, and to reject superstitious trash.

* Edward II. found a temporary retreat in his adversity in the parish of Llangynwyd-fawr, in the county of Glamorgan.—*Carlisle*. After an unfortunate reign, he was deposed by the queen and Mortimer her gallant, imprisoned at first in Kenilworth Castle, from thence removed to Berkley Castle, and afterwards put to a most agonizing death, in the said castle, by the "*damnable subtilty*" (as Camden strongly expresses himself) of Adam, Bishop of Hereford, who sent these enigmatical words to his keepers, Sir Thomas Gurney, and Sir John Maltravers, without either point or comma:—*Edvardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*.

To seek to shed King Edward's blood
Refuse to fear I think it good.

So that, as Camden proceeds, by the double sense and construction of the words, they might be encouraged to commit the murder, and he plausibly vindicate himself to the people from giving any directions in it.—He was buried in Gloucester College, and his shrine is to be seen N. of the choir.

with the title of Earl of Marche. This insurrection was set on foot by *Sir Griffith Llwyd, who gathered together a number of his countrymen, too ready to revolt, and attempted the recovery of the liberty they had lost. The Welsh records contain but little of their operations. They took several castles which were kept by Mortimer's officers, and also the castles of Mould and Chirke. The keepers whereof surrendered themselves to Edward at Shrewsbury, and were sent to the tower. —Sir G. Llwyd treated with Sir Edward Bruce, brother to Robert, king of Scotland, who had conquered Ireland, for assistance, as may be seen by the following letter from Sir Griffith to him:—

"Audita nobis vestri in conquisitione fama egregia in partibus nostris, præcipue debelland. æmulos nostros et vestros, qui tam vos quam nos ab hereditatibus vi injuste expellendo destruxerunt; et nomen nostrum memoriamq. in terris delere conati sunt, ab initio supra modum applaudimus, ut merito debemus, omnes unanimiter in partibus nostris, unde vobis ex parte Wallensium Nobilium Significo per presentes, si ad Walliam cum hominibus vestris dignemini venire, vel si vos in propria persona accedere illuc non poteritis. Aliquem nobilem Albanens. Comitem, Baronem, vel militem, cum paucis, si plurimi nequeant adesse, ad dictas partes nostras volueritis mandare. Parati erimus omnes unanimiter.—Dicem eo quod nomen vestrum celebre ubique publicetur expugnat: Si quid Saxonibus in Albania per illustrem regem fratrem vestrum ultim. per vos in Hibernia, per vos et nos in Wallia Statum pristinum per Brutum conquistum recuperabimus, ipsisque suppeditiis, confusis a dispersis, Britannia juxta discretam vestræ dominationis ordinationem inter Britones et Albanos in posterum divisa rehæredabitur. Valeat vestra Regia per cuncta secula."

SIR EDWARD BRUCE'S ANSWER.

"Omnibus desiderantibus a servitute liberari salutem in eo. Qui desiderant in se relevat. et liberat. ab angustiis temporibus opportunis, quia quilibet Christianus obligatur suo proximo in omni Angustia subvenire, precipue illis qui ex una radice originis sive Parentelæ et patriæ primitus processerunt, ideo compatiētes vestræ servituti et angustię, jam—Anglicana molestia indigenti decre-

* Sir G. Llwyd was grandson of Ednyfed Fychan. He garrisoned a strong hold called Ynys Cefni, situate in a morassy part of Mallaeth which he insulated with the Cefni waters.

vimus (auxiliante altissimo) vestro gravamini occurrere et innaturallem et barbaricam totis viribus Anglicanam de vestris finibus expellere servitutem, ut sic sicut a principio Albanicus et Britannicus populus expulsis hostibus in perpetuum fiet unus. Et quia nullus inimicus faciliter relevatur libenter precipimus, si jugum Anglicanum in tantum vos deprimit, quantum nuper depresserat populum Sootlanum, ut sic ex vestro concordie conamine, et nostro superveniente, (juvamine disponente semper divino) positis jura vestra et justitiam recuperare et proprietatem——hereditatem pacifice possidere. Veruntamen Dei cum omnia serviant in isto proposito filium invocamus, quod non ex presumptione et ambitione injusti dominii talia attemptamus, sed ex meta compassione effusionis innocentis vestri sanguinis et subjectionis intollerabilis et signum: ad hoc quod vellemus inimicorum vestrorum et nostrorum vires reprimere, qui nec pacem nec concordiam desiderant. Imo vestram et nostram finalem destructionem, sicut a principio molientur, et quia nullo modo est nostrae conscientiae quemquam decipere, nec etiam decipi a quocunque nostram intentionem et propositum. Sine tergiversatione aliqua declaramus quod libenter sciremus vestram voluntatem, si rationem nostri laboris et conaminis intuitu relevationis vestrae acceptare decrément. nobis committere prosecutionem querelae vestrae et justitiae nec non capitale dominium vestri prout alius hactenus Princeps vester liberius habere consuevit. Ita quod vos omnes et singuli cujuscunque extiteritis conditionis pristinis hereditatibus, terris, libertatibus possessionibus consuetis et omnibus conditionibus ad vos expectantibus integre et finaliter gaudeatis. Vestram igitur voluntatem super his et quibuscunque aliis in quibus vos consolari poterimus, si videtur expediens caute et celeriter nobis remandatis. Valete Domini in Domino."—*Wyne.*

The treaty, notwithstanding these letters, came to nothing, probably through the unreasonableness of Bruce's terms.

Sir Griffith's warlike career was very prosperous at first: he overran and ravaged North Wales and the borders, as it were in an instant: but his army being spent, he was defeated and taken prisoner, after a very spirited, and for a while, successful insurrection. He was confined for a short time in Rhuddlan Castle, and then executed.—Edward the Second's death soon followed; he was succeeded by his son Edward the Third, being only 14 years old at the commencement of his reign.—A peculiarity not to be passed unnoticed, is, that Edward of Carnarvon did not constitute his son Prince of

Wales; but conferred only on him the honour of Earl of Chester and Flint; and by that title summoned him to parliament when nine years old.* His Welsh subjects conducted themselves with great loyalty during a reign of fifty one years; an instance of uncommon forbearance, in a nation unhabituated to submission, and unqualified in the arts of peace. Nay, Edward III. not only experienced forbearance from hostilities from the Welsh, but was aided in his glorious victories by recruits raised in the principality, who shared the dangers as well as victories of Cressy† and Poitiers. Edward III. closed a long auspicious reign in 1377. By the 28th Edward III. the principality of Wales was divested of the *Marches*, which were annexed to the crown of England.—His valiant son Edward (stiled the Black Prince, on account of the black armour he wore) was solemnly invested by his father with the title of Prince of Wales, with a cap of state and a coronet set on his head, a gold ring upon his finger, and a silver verge delivered into his hand, with the assent of parliament.‡—His death was as premature, as his life had been illustriously brave.—Richard II. son of the Black Prince, was crowned in the 11th year of his age; and on the death of his father, was created Prince of Wales, by his grandfather Edward III.—He was also stiled Prince of Chester; which earldom, by act of parliament, Richard raised to a principality, and

* Camden.

† *Hywel y Fwyall*, a British chieftain, is described by the Welsh Bards as having commanded a body of his countrymen as a corps de reserve at the battle of Cressy, and by his seasonable advance and valorous incursion on the French lines, to have materially added to the acceleration of victory.

‡ Camden.

annexed to it, the Castle of Leon, with the territories of Bromfield and Yale; the Castle of Chirk, with Chirkland; the Castle of Oswalds-street, with the hundred, and eleven towns appertaining to the said castle, with the Castle of Isabella and Delalay, and other large possessions, which, by the outlawry of Richard, Earl of Arundel, were then forfeited to the crown. This unfortunate prince experienced but little prosperity; indeed, the Welsh were his warmest friends, and stood by him in all his troubles.—Our hero, Owen Glyndwr, was scutiger, or squire of the body to him, and knighted before his deposal.*—The parliament conceived a great aversion to Richard, and, disgusted with his measures, compelled him to dismiss his favourites, revolted and took up arms against him. The disturbed state of Ireland calling for the king's presence, he sailed thither with a powerful army, in 1399, fully determined to make a complete conquest of that rebellious kingdom; but in his marches

* "I find him among the witnesses in the celebrated cause between Sir Richard le Scrope and Sir Robert de Grosvenor, about a coat of arms, under the title of *Sir Owen de Glendore*. His brother also appears there by the name of Tudor de Glendore. This cause lasted three years, and ended in 1389." Pennant.—It is to be hoped our renowned countryman did not assume the title in consequence of his personal prowess; as Sir Tudor Vaughan ap Grono, lineally descended from Ednyfed Vychan, did; of whose knighthood we have the following anecdote; "In the time of Edward III. lived Sir Tudor Vaughan, and assumed the honour of knighthood. King Edward being informed of it, sent for him and enquired, with what confidence he durst invade his prerogative? Sir T. replied, That by the law and constitution of King Arthur, he had the liberty of taking upon himself the title, in regard he had those three qualifications, which whosoever was possessed of, could by those laws claim the honour of knighthood. 1. He was a gentleman. 2. He had a sufficient estate. and 3. He was valiant and adventurous. Adding, if my valour be doubted of, here I throw my glove, and for proof of my courage, I am ready to fight any man. The king approving of his resolution and prowess, confirmed the honour." King Henry VII. was a tinctural descendant of this self-created knight.—*Wynne's History of Wales*, p. p. 314, 315.

through the country, his vast army was much distressed for want of provisions and carriages; he accomplished nothing memorable. Henry, son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, bent on Richard's dethronement, obliged him to leave Ireland. He was taken prisoner in one of the deep bottoms, near Llandulas, Flintshire, by a band of armed ruffians, placed there by the Earl of Northumberland, and betrayed into the hands of Bolingbroke, at Flint.—The parliament charged him with a breach of the coronation oath, in 32 articles: upon which he resigned the crown to his cousin Henry IV. on condition of a handsome allowance for himself and eight more.—After his removal to Pontefract Castle, in Yorkshire, Sir Pyers Exton was delegated, with eight other assassins, to murder him, which was an act of humanity," for he was barbarously destroyed, as Camden observes, "with hunger, cold, and other unheard of torments." Notwithstanding those deprivations and sufferings, he made a most manly resistance, and resolved to sell his life as dear as possible, he killed four of the deputed murderers before he fell himself by the hands of Exton.—The remains of this unhappy monarch were first interred at *King's Langley*, in Hertfordshire, in a cell of Friars Predicants; but not long after his body was removed to Westminster, and had a monument of brass bestowed upon it, to make amends, as my last quoted author says, for his kingdom.—His scutiger, Owen Glyndwr, followed King Richard's fortunes to the last; was taken prisoner with him, and when his household was dissolved, retired to his estate in the principality, with a heart fraught with anguish for his sovereign's injuries, determined on retaliating his wrongs, when an op-

portunity offered: which, in the sequel, will be found to have been repaid with interest.

This prince has been charged, by his enemies, with lavishness and prodigality, with credulity, and being a dupe to his favourites; and extolled and applauded, by his friends, for his munificence, liberality and benevolence. His prevailing foible or defect seems to have been timidity and irresolution; a misfortune inconsistent with the princely spirit, and a great unhappiness attendant on any station in life; rendering men of middle or inferior stations incapable of preferment, liable to the undermining craft of the forward, who, generally, supplant the diffident, and, without a glimpse of claim or semblance of merit, bear off the reward appertaining to desert and superior talents; while, it exposes a prince to the ambition of the usurper, and determined resolution of the assassin.

CHAP. II.

Containing the Genealogical Descent of O. Glyndwr; family alliances and connections; and his Title to the Crown and Sovereignty of the Principality of Wales, considered and enquired into.

THE Science of Genealogy was professed very early by the ancient Britons. Mr. Yorke very judiciously traces the art to the Phenicians (who traded to the mines of Cassiterides), and who might have derived it from the Jews; whose twelve tribes are arranged with great accuracy and defined with the utmost exactness. Their insular situation and inconnexion with other nations favoured the Britons in this branch so congenial

to an independent people, and our early genealogy is reckoned as authentic as any other species of history whatever.*—From the ninth to the twelfth century, the genealogist, sanctioned by royal authority, classed the first families into twenty tribes; five termed *royal*, and fifteen denominated *common*.† The five royal tribes were, *Gryffydd ap Cynan*; *Rhys ap Tewdwr*; *Bleddyn ap Cynsyn*; *Iestyn ap Gurgaint*; and *Athelstan Glodrydd*. The three former princes were contemporaries about the year 1073, (although Gryffydd did not recover the crown of North Wales until 1079) and founded the two others, *Iestyn ap Gurgaint* and *Athelstan Glodrydd*. Here, at first sight, seems a great anachronism: Athelstan Glodrydd, founder of the fifth tribe, was born in the year 938, and was godson to the Saxon King Athelstan. Now, as Mr. Llwyd of the museum observes, “By *llayth*, or tribe, was

* The author is fully aware how much genealogy is ridiculed, and esteemed, too often, as a foible peculiar to Wales and gratifying only to a Welshman's pride of ancestry. The art has, therefore, been treated as a futile one, and our genealogical descents and pedigrees regarded spurious.—That there have been parasites in the art must be acknowledged, and family pride may, sometimes, have been flattered; however, upon the whole, much credit is due to our ancient genealogists, who were appointed and patronized by royalty, professed that art, as *Arwydd-feirdd* and *Ofyddion*, prior to their initiation into the higher orders of bardism. Their records are still extant, and bear every mark of authenticity; a bard and a genealogist were synonymous, and though a bard can plead *licentia poetice*, yet, fiction was not allowed in recording the actions of their heroes, nor in registering the descent of families. Our bards continued their genealogical pursuits to the reign of Elizabeth. Therefore, as Humphrey Llwyd, our learned antiquary, and historian, observes; “Let such disdainful reads, as scant know their own grandfathers, leave their scoffing and taunting of Welshmen, for THAT THING that all other nations in the world do glory in.”—In justice to the ancient Saxons it must be allowed, that they were not altogether indifferent to the subject of genealogy; the deducing of their King Ethelwulph from Adam is an instance of their accuracy in the art.—“Let Bourbon or Nassau go higher,”

† Yorke's Pref. p. v.

meant the descendants from such a person and not the person himself," so the honour of representing the fifth royal tribe must have been given to the sons or posterity of Athelstan, in the name of their deceased father.*

From *Bleddyn ap Cynfyn*, the *third royal tribe*, our famed hero, *Owen Glyndwr*, was lineally descended.

"Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis."

Bleddyn, (maternally, from *Roderic the Great*) was son of *Cynfyn ap Gwerystan*. His great grandmother, *Angharad*, grand-daughter and heiress of *Merfyn*, third son of *Roderic the Great*, gave him a title to *Powys*.—The death of *Gryffydd ap Llewelyn ap Seisyllt*, his half brother, Prince of North Wales, who was murdered by his own subjects, (in 1064) at the instigation of *Harold*, *Edward the Confessor's* general, (influenced most probably by *Bleddyn* and his brother *Rhiwallon*) caused them to be invested by *Edward* with the sovereignty of North Wales.—*Rhiwallon* fell in the battle of *Mechain*, leaving *Bleddyn* sole sovereign of North Wales and *Powys*. His career was short and his fate similar to that of many of the Welsh princes. He was assassinated by *Rhys ap Owen ap Edwyn ap Howell Ddâ*; aided by the Welsh chieftains, who inhabited the banks of the *Towy*.—*Trahaern*

* Vide the *Royal Tribes of Wales*, by Philip Yorke, Esq. of Erthig, p. 192. The historical collector of these sheets acknowledges himself greatly indebted to this elegant and ingenious publication, which is repeatedly quoted. The author, Mr. Yorke, advertised his readiness to "enlarge it through the fifteen common Tribes, if the families descended from them were pleased to communicate their pedigrees," &c. and it is much to be regretted that his investigations have not been made public.—*Pentateuchia*, a M.S. history of the Five Royal Tribes, in Latin verse, by *Powel*, often cited in this collection, is accurate in facts, though defective in prosody and orthography; but was never printed.

ap Caradoc, his cousin, succeeded to the crown of North Wales; and Powys was *gavelled* or divided between his sons Maredudd and Cadwgan: reunited in Maredudd, on the murder of Cadwgan, by their nephew Madog, the son of Ririd, the fifth son of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn; and the extinction of Cadwgan's sons by Maredudd himself. Thus the custom of Gavalkind invariably proved a source of family disasters, which often ended in a war of extermination among brethren.—Maredudd died in 1132, “under a severe contrition,” as Caradoc observes, “for his hellish practices against his brothers and nephews.” Powys, on his death, was divided between his eldest son Madog and his grandson Owen Cyfeiliog: to Madog, that part afterwards denominated *Powys Fadog*; and to Owen, the portion called *Powys Wenwynwyn*.—Madog ap Maredudd,* entitled Lord of Bromfield, was a leading man of those times, a confederate of Ronnel the Third, and of his son Hugh Cyfeiliog, the fourth Earl of Chester.—He confederated with Henry II. and incited him to invade North Wales, commanded his navy, and made a descent on the Island of Anglesea, ravaged the country, plundered churches, but on retreating to the fleet, was attacked by the islanders, and his party cut to pieces. Disgraced by this unsuccessful attempt against his countrymen, he weighed anchor in dismay, and sailed back to Chester. He was also equally unfortunate at the battle of Consyllt, near Flint. His treachery towards his native country, and alliance with Henry, arose from a spirit which could not brook submission, in conformity to the rules of Roderic the Great, to Owen Gwynedd,

* Cynddelw Brydydd mawr, eminent for valour, resided in Madog's Court.

the reigning Prince of North Wales.—As he acknowledged the sovereignty of England, and often resided there, he died at Winchester, and was buried at Meifod, in Montgomeryshire, a church he had rebuilt: the usual burial place of his family. Thus died Madog ap Maredudd, the last Prince of Powys, in the year 1160.—His character, notwithstanding his alliance with the King of England and defection from Owen Gwynedd, was in the main, exemplarily virtuous and bountiful, he was one, as Powel says in his edition of the Welsh Chronicle, “that feared God and relieved the poor.”—He built the Castles of Oswestry, Caer Einion, and Overton, where he resided. By Susannah, daughter of Gryffydd ap Cynan, he had three sons, Gryffydd, Owen, and Elis,* and a daughter, *Maredd*, wife of Iorwerth Drwyndwnn, and mother of Llewelyn the Great. His mutilated moiety of Powys was gavelled between the three mentioned sons, and other three illegitimate ones, Brogyntyn, Cynfrig and Einion Efell.—As Owen Glyndwr came from Gryffydd Maelor, Lord of Bromfield or Maelor Cymraeg, we shall pursue the genealogy through him and his descendants, and leave the residue of Madog’s progeny to rest in peace.

Powel calls Gryffydd “a man wise and liberal:” to which we may add, valiant and patriotic. When Henry II. with his choicest troops from Normandy, Anjou, Gascony and the different territories he possessed in France, marched into Powys, in the full resolution of exterminating the inhabitants; encamped near Oswestry, with a double view of striking terror into the confederate princes, or to detach the princes of Powys (the usual adherents of England)

* Called *Eliza*, by Yorke, and *Elis*.

from the common cause; at this critical time, we find Gryffydd and Owen Cyfeilioc leading the forces of Powys, and valiantly engaging at the head of the men of Bromfield, in the battle of Crogen or Chirk.*

Gryffydd died in 1191, and was buried at Meisod.—By his wife Angharad, daughter of Owen Gwynedd, he had one son, Madog, who inherited his estates without gavelling or mutilation. His residence was at Rhiwabon, altered to Watstay, (being on Watt's Dyke) and afterwards, into *Wynnstay*. In the year 1211, he is found serving under King John, whose threats of exterminating the people of North Wales, was equally unavailing as those of Henry II.; he was obliged to retreat with discomfiture and disgrace. A few months after, having augmented his army, John and his ally, Madog, and other Welsh chieftains, were more successful: a detachment of the army burnt the town of Bangor, took bishop Rotpert prisoner, who was afterwards liberated for two hundred hawks. Llewelyn ap Iorwerth made his peace, through the mediation of his wife, Joan,† daughter of King John, upon very hard terms; and was obliged, in favour of Madog, to renounce for ever the paramountship of Powys.

* Warrington is very circumstantial and minute in his relation of this battle, and fixes the situation of the Welsh at Corwen previous to the action. It is supposed, that in passing the river Ceiriog to engage the Welsh forces, Henry was in imminent danger from an arrow, aimed at him, but intercepted by Hubert de Clare. Many of the English were slain, and according to Yorke, buried in Offa's Dyke, below Chirk Castle; and the place called to this day Adwy'r Beddau.

† A plain stone coffin which once contained the remains of Jorah, consort of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, many years a common watering trough at the Friars (the seat of Sir R. Williams) near Beaumaris, has

The perturbed state affairs of King John, out of which much good accrued to posterity, determined the depressed Llewelyn to attempt the rescue of his country from vassalage. After a convention of chieftains, alas! too often disunited, among whom Madog stood foremost, to which assembly the Prince of Wales represented in strong, pathetic, terms, their want of virtue in deserting the interests of their country, whose miserable situation he painted in such colours, as wrought upon their minds a momentary, but too transient, gleam of patriotism. After swearing allegiance to the Prince of North Wales, they took all the English fortresses in North Wales, Rhuddlan and Diganwy excepted, (which fell afterwards) and soon rendered the Marches a scene of desolation. The King of England's vindictive conduct on this occasion surpasses belief: he caused twenty-eight hostages to be hanged at Nottingham, most of them very young and people of distinction. One of his minions, Robert Vepont, infected with his master's mania, executed Rhys the son of Maelgwyn, a child not seven years old, at Shrewsbury.—We lastly find the gallant Madog, in South Wales, with Llewelyn and all the confeder-

been placed by Lord Viscount Bulkeley, in an appropriate and beautiful gothic building in his grounds, with the following inscription:—

“ This plain sarcophagus, (once dignified, as having contained the remains of Joan daughter of King Joan and consort of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth Prince of North Wales, who died in 1237), having been conveyed from the Friary of Llanfaes! and alas! used for many years as a horse watering trough, was rescued from such indignity, and placed here for preservation, as well as to excite serious meditations on the transitory nature of all sublunary distinctions, by Thomas James Warren Bulkeley Viscount Bulkeley, Oct. 1808.” —Joan was buried upon the shore at Llanfaes, and a monastery erected over her grave by Llewelyn before A.D. 1250. It belonged to the Franciscan or Minor Friars. The King of Denmark's son, the Lord Clifford and many barons and knights were buried here.—*Warington and Tanner's Not. Mon.*

ate chieftains, investing, reducing and levelling the castles of Carmarthen, Llanstephan, Saint Clears, and Talacharn: Emlyn, Cemaes and Newport, Cardigan and Cilgerran.—In the year 1200 he founded the Cistercian Abbey of Llanegwest, of the Cross, or de Valle Crucis.* He died, A. D. 1236, and was buried in the church of his own monastery.—By his wife Gwladys, the daughter of Ithel ap Rhys ap Morgan of Ewias, ap Morgan Hir, ap Iestyn ap Gwrgaint, the fourth royal tribe, he had one son, Gryffydd, the last who inherited his estates entire.—This lord's interest, abilities and activity were equally eminent in these turbulent times. His influence was exerted, jointly with other lords and reguli, for the release of Gryffydd ap Llewelyn, imprisoned in the Castle of Cruccaith, which they accomplished; the prince was released, exchanging his confinement from Cruccaith, to the Tower of London, and in attempting to escape, perished by a fall from the ramparts.—Edward the First, when prince, and Earl of Chester, experienced Gryffydd ap Madog's Friendship and attachment, was assisted by him in his attacks upon Wales; and in 1257, when checked by the Welsh and obliged to retreat, this chieftain's territories were laid waste by Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, in resentment of his alliance with Prince

* Llanegwest was one of the last founded abbeys; it was found 26th Henry Eight, to be endowed with £188 8s. 0d. per annum, according to Dugdale, and £214 3s. 5d. according to Speed. "It was granted 9th Jac. First, to Edward Wotton."—*Tanner's Not. Mon.*—"There still remain the ruins of the church, and part of the abbey; the last inhabited by a farmer. The church was built in the form of a cross, in different styles of architecture. The most ancient is that of the east end, where the windows are in form of long and narrow slips, pointed at top. The window at the west end is large, divided by stone tracery; and above is a round window of elegant work."—*Pennant.*—Llangollen Vale, with its beautiful appendages, has been so often described and celebrated by the antiquary and tourist, that a further account of its beauties would be superfluous.

Edward.* Soon after, Llewelyn paid a hostile visit to Powys, and took possession of it. He banished Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn out of the country, but, Gryffydd ap Madog's submission, restored him into favour, and reinstated him in his patrimony. Gryffydd's policy was commendable; the fortune of England was now at a low ebb, he returned to the duty he had long deserted, and found protection in his natural sovereign. His return to allegiance and fidelity diffused joy and satisfaction through every breast, nor does history record any disobedient acts of his to the day of his death; which happened in 1270, in his castle of *Dinas Brân*. He was buried in the neighbouring Abbey of Llanegwest, which his father had erected.

"Regibus Anglorum fuit hic Griffinus Amicus,
Aversatus herum Leolinum, cujus ob iram
Se bene munitum Castello Semper in illo
Continuit latitans, nomen locus indidit inde:
Orbati teneris nati linquuntur in armis."—*Pentarchis*.

By his wife Emma, the sister of James, Lord Audley, an English captain, who dreadfully annoyed the Welsh, with his German cavalry (ulti-

* "Of one of these Welsh expeditions, (apud Gannoo, i. e. Diganwy) there is a letter preserved by Matthew Paris, from a soldier of fashion, describing the distresses of the English army in very spirited terms."—"We lie here" says he, "*watching, praying, fasting, and freezing*; we watch for fear of the Welsh, who beat up our quarters every night; we pray for a safe passage homeward; we fast, for hardly have we any food, the half-penny loaf being raised to five pence, and we freeze for want of clothing, and having only a linnen tent to keep out the cold."—*York*, p. 58.—A great dearth happened in 1246. The Bishop of Saint David's, is said to have died of grief, and the Bishop of Llandaff to have been stricken blind: the Bishops of Bangor and Saint Asaph, likewise, on their Bishopricks being entirely ruined, were under the necessity of supplicating alms.—*Matt. Paris*, p. 642.—An old writer expresses the bondage of the Welsh at that time, thus: "The harp of the churchmen is changed into sorrow and lamentation: the glory of their proud and antient nobility is faded away." It was probably at this melancholy time, that the spark alluded to, makes his direful moan.

mately destroyed) he had four sons; to Madog the elder, he gave the lordships of Bromfield and Iâl, with the reversion of Moldsdale, Hopesdale, and *Maelor Saesneg*, his mother's jointure, a detached part of Flintshire, so called from her nation: to Llewelyn, the second, the lordships of Chirk and Natheudwy: the third son, Gryffydd, had *Glyndyfrdwy*: the fourth, Owen, had Cynllaeth, from him called *Cynllaeth Owen*: he was intended for the church, but died a natural death in his youth, and his portion of Cynllaeth, came to his brother Gryffydd who survived him.—Emma, their mother, had the wardship of Madog and Llewelyn. The friends of the family, sensible, that under the guardianship of an English lady, their affections would be alienated from the Welsh and lost to their country. The trust also proving too onerous for the lady, and with difficulty keeping the possession of her own jointure, she thought it expedient to transfer the care of them to King Edward the First; alledging that their ancestors had sworn fealty to the King of England, and that they were feudally his wards. The children and their estates were committed by Edward to the care of John Earl Warren and Roger Mortimer; to the former, Madog, and the latter, Llewelyn.—These trusty guardians strengthened their charge with two strong castles; *Chirk* built by Mortimer, and *Holt* by Warren.—“And as it might happen, the wards were missed and no more found.”*

Tali, curantes arte pupillos,
Rursus ut ad Patrios nunquam rediere penates.

Pentarchia.

What manner of death they suffered is unknown.

* Yorke.

Tradition says they were drowned in the night, in the river Dee, at Holt.* They perished by some secret and violent death, by the hands of their guardians without a doubt, who by the grants of Edward, succeeded generally to their estates.—Edward, however, participated in the spoil, but, it is to be hoped, not in the destruction of the wards.—His animosity and vindictive spirit towards the last Prince of Wales might justify the insinuation, and his acquittal would be very dubious before a jury of Welshmen.—Edward kept the demesnes of Hope, and had given Emma a temporary composition in land for her jointure of Maelor Saesneg, which on her death would have reverted to her family, which Edward kept and annexed to Flintshire, under the pretence that the heirs were rebels. Warren usurped the property of Madog, “but seized with remorse for his crime; and instead of removing the other object of his fear, as a Machiavelian politician would have done, procured from Edward a grant of Glyndyfrdwy to Gryffydd, third brother to the unhappy youths, dated from Rhuddlan, the 12th of February, 1282.”†

Gryffydd held this lordship under the King of England in chieftly, and was by the Welsh called Y Barwn Gwyn; he possessed also his deceased brother Owen's portion of Cynllaeth, and so in descent to Glyndwr.‡—Gryffydd was father to Madog Grwpl; or the cripple, the great great grand-father of Owen Glyndwr; who succeeded lineally to these estates.—The tract, ever memorable for its hero, called Glyndwrddwy, or the valley of Dee (which name it still retains) extends about seven miles in length, and lies in the parishes of *Llangollen*, *Llandysilio*,

* Yorke. † Pennant. ‡ Yorke.

Llansaintffraid and Corwen. It was anciently a comot in the kingdom of Mathraval or Powys. This dale is narrow, fertile, bounded by lofty hills, often clothed with trees. Owen's father's name was Gryffydd Vychan; his mother's *Elen* or *Elena*, eldest daughter of Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen ap Maredudd ap Owen ap Gryffydd ap Rhys ap Gryffydd ap Rhys ap Tewdur, by his wife Elinor Goch, daughter and heiress to *Catherine** one of the daughters of Llewelyn, last Prince of Wales, and wife to Philip ap Ivor of Iscoed.—Thus we have briefly shewn that Owen's "blood is fetched from fathers of war proof;" it will soon appear that he dishonoured not his mother.—Of his illustrious ancestors, paternally and maternally, he might have said, "nam genus et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi, vix ea nostra voco;" but his own exploits and gallant deeds stand unequalled in the annals of fame, and could truly affirm,

"Descendam magnorum haud unquam indignus avorum."

VIRGIL.

The day and year of Glyndwr's birth is uncertain. One manuscript, Mr. Pennant says, fixes it on the 28th of May, 1354: another preserved by Lewis Owen, places the event five years earlier: for the year 1349, says he, was distinguished by the first appearance of the pestilence in Wales, and by the birth of *Owen Glyndwr*. Holinshed relates that his father's horses were found, on the night of his birth, standing in the stables up to their bellies

* *Pennant* here observes, that *Catherine* was probably married before the death of her father, otherwise Edward's jealousy about the succession to the principality would have made her share the fate of her sister *Gwenllian* who perforce took the veil in the convent of Shaftesbury.—*Warrington* on the other hand, says that *Catherine* was married to Malcolm, Earl of Fife. The two accounts are not reconcilable unless we give *Gwenllian* to the Earl of Fife.

in blood: ominous of his son's cruelty, no doubt, and indicative of the slaughter he should commit.*

Superstition, ever inventive and ready to usher into the world, heroes, by some strange phenomena, was not wanting in prognostics of Owen's future celebrity.—Shakespear also introduces Glyndwr thus, speaking of himself:—

—At my birth
The front of heav'n was full of fiery shapes;
The Goats ran from the mountains, and the herds
Were strangely clamorous in the frighted fields:
These signs have marked me extraordinary,
And all the courses of my life do shew,
I am not in the roll of common men.

His education was liberal. He entered himself in the inns of court, studied the laws of the realm, and became a barrister. That Owen should make

* Since writing the above, Edward Jones, Esq. Bard to the King, has most kindly transmitted to the author the following extract from the M. S. S. of the late Rev. Mr. Pugh, of Ty-gwyn, Denbighshire.

"Trefgarn, a place in Pembrokeshire, South Wales;" (formerly a gentleman's residence, but now converted into a farm house) I know not whether it is in Rhôs, or Pebidiog, being the place where *Owain Glyndur* was born, and the house of *Thomas ab Llywelyn ab Owain*."

Trefgarn farm is in the parish of Saint Dogfael's (now called Saint Dogwells) eight miles N. from Haverfordwest, occupied by a respectable farmer of the name of Morgans, and goes by the appellation of *Little Trefgarn*. It was formerly a place of eminence belonging to the family of *Edwards*, one of whom, John Edwards, Esq. left a donation of £7 10s. to be distributed annually on the 16th of April, viz. to the vicar 20s. for a sermon on the anniversary, 6s. to the clerk, and the remainder amongst his labourers.

There is also a parish called *Trefgarn*, in the county of Pembroke, five miles N. from Haverfordwest. The name signifies, the Town of the Rock; as there is near the village, a huge heap of shaggy, and shattered rock, which is, doubtless, the occasion of it. At the founding of the Precentor's stall, in Saint David's Cathedral, by Bishop Gervase, this place was annexed to that dignity: but it was afterwards resumed by Bishop Houghton in 1368, who gave the Precentor twenty marks in lieu of it. The cause of the resumption was, because it abounded with *fuel*, and because the Precentor was unable to secure it from depredation. Vide Bishop Burgess's Charge to the Chapter of St. David's in 1811, and Carlsie's Topographical Dictionary of the Dominion of Wales, Sub voc. *St. Dogfael's*, and *Trefgarn*.

the laws of England his study and profession argues a candour and ingenuousness uncommon at the time; that national prejudice was wearing off; that a spirited Welsh chieftain, laying aside the ancient systems and codes of Moelmutius, Howel Ddâ and Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, in order to apply himself to the laws of a nation that had recently subjugated his own country, seems a paradox. However, instead of adhering to the maxim:—

Cedant arma togæ, concedant omnia linguæ.

He quitted his profession, followed the desperate fortunes of the unhappy Richard, became his scutiger; bartering his gown for a coat of mail, his flowing wig for a helmet, and his pen for a sword.

His mansion, or rather Palace, was situate in the parish of Llausaintffraid, in the Cwmwd of Glyn-dyfrdwy, Cantref-y-Barwn, and county of Merioneth.—*Iolo Goch*, the celebrated Bard of this period, resident sometime at his court gives the following description of the place, when it was in full splendour. Iolo, rather singularly, compares the seat to Westminster Abbey. It had a gate-house, and was surrounded with a moat. It contained nine halls, each furnished with a wardrobe, filled with the clothes of his retainers, as Mr. Pennant imagined, according to the custom of those days. Near the house on a verdant bank, was a wooden house supported on posts, and covered with tile, which contained four apartments, each subdivided into two, designed to lodge the guests. Here was a church in form of a cross, with several chapels. The seat was surrounded with every conveniency for good living; and every support to hospitality: a park, warren, and pigeon-house; a mill, orchard and vine-yard; and fish-pond filled with pike and

gwyniaid: the last introduced from the lake at Bala. A heronry, which was a concomitant to the seat of every great man, supplied him and his guests with game for the sport of falconry.—The bard speaks feelingly of the wine, the ale, the braget, and the white bread; nor does he, (like a good son of Epicurus) forget the kitchen, nor the important officer, the cook; whose life (when in the royal service) was estimated by our laws at a hundred and twenty-six cows.—Such was the hospitality of this house, that the place of porter was useless; nor were locks or bolts known.*

Owen was married to Margaret, daughter of Sir David Hanmer, of Hanmer, in the county of Flint, one of the justices of the king's bench, by the appointment of Richard II. in 1383, and knighted by him in 1387.—Our last cited bard, Iolo Goch, pays the following tribute of praise to this lady, her offspring, and hospitality:

A gwraig oren o'r gwragedd!
Gwyn fy myd, o'i gwin a'i medd:
Merch eglur, llin marchawglyw,
Urddol, hael, o reiol ryw.
A'i blant, a dleuant bob yn ddau,
Nythod tég o bennaethau!

IOLÓ GOCH.

Translation.

His wife, the best of wives!
Happy am I in her wine and metheglin:
Eminent woman, of knightly family,
Honorable, beneficent, noble.
His children come in pairs,
A beautiful nest of chieftains.

PENNANT.

History is silent as to the number of his sons by this union. It seems they were grown up, and followed him into the field, and commanded under him. That they fell in battle is highly probable.†—His eldest daughter, Isabel, was married to Adda ap Iorwerth Ddû. His second, Elizabeth,

* Pennant from Iolo Goch.

† Brown Willis says, that on their father's death they fled into Ireland; that one of them settled in Dublin, and took the name of Baulf, or the strong, and was ancestor to a respectable family in that city.

or Alicia, according to some, was married to Sir John Scudamore, of Ewyas and Holm-Lacy, in the county of Hereford.—Jonet, his third daughter, was married to John Crofts, of Croft Castle, in the same county.*—Jane, his fourth daughter, was married to Lord Grey, of Ruthyn (the primary cause of Owen's Insurrection), a most unnatural union and forced alliance! to which dire necessity, when a prisoner to Glyndwr, obliged him; affection, on either side, must have been out of the question. His fifth and youngest daughter, Margaret, was married to Roger Monington, of Monington, in the county of Hereford. Mr. Pennant says, that he had the pleasure of seeing at his house two ladies, owners of Monington, and direct descendants from the daughter of Glyndwr.—The illustrious descendants of the Scudamores, also, own, and are resident at Holm-Lacy to this day: his late Grace the Duke of Norfolk having married, in 1771, Frances, only daughter of Charles Fitzroy Scudamore, of Holm-Lacy, Esq.† where her Grace now lives; but has no issue.

R. P. Scudamore, Esq. representative in parliament for the city of Hereford, lives at Kentchurch Court in that county.—Camden says that the noble

* *Crofts* was a Saxon family of distinction, which resided at *Croft Castle*, in Herefordshire, in the time of Edward the Confessor. It became extinct about the end of the 16th century. Thomas Johnes, Esq. of Hafod, was born there. The place was sold to Somerset Davies, Esquire.

† *Saint Scudamore*, (so called from the *Scutum amoris Divini*, which he took for his arms) attended William the Conqueror in his expedition. Philip Scudamore, a descendant, settled here in the 14th century. Holm-Lacy, in the county of Hereford, was the principal seat of the family till the year 1716, when the last Viscount Scudamore dying, the estate vested in his only child, a daughter. By Charles Fitzroy Scudamore, her second husband, she also had a daughter, to whom the property descended. This lady married the Duke of Norfolk, in 1771.

and ancient family of Scudamores much advanced itself by marrying with an heiress of Ewias, in this county: and Kentchurch Court is in the hundred of Ewias Lacy, and must mean the same place. Indeed, Kentchurch and Monington contend for being the place of the sepulture of Owen, as warmly as the seven cities of Greece contended to be the birth-place of Homer.

His illegitimate issue must not be passed unnoticed.—Of his natural son, Ieuan, we know nothing. A daughter married into the house of Gwer-nan; another daughter, named Myfanwy, was married to Llewelyn ap Adda, of Trefor; and Gwenllian, to Phillip ap Rhys, of St. Harmon, in Radnorshire. Lewis Glyn Cothi, a bard of the time of Henry VI. speaks in high terms of her father Glyndwr.

“Ei thad oedd dywysog cadarn,
A holl Gymru fu’n ei faru.”

“Her father was a potent prince;
All Wales was in his council.”

The English historians mention the union of another daughter of Owen to Edmund, Earl of March; compelled to the match, after he became Glyndwr’s prisoner. The accurate Mr. Pennant denies that March was ever a prisoner to Glyndwr; or had any other wife than Anne, daughter of Edmund Earl of Stafford; and adds, “besides the Welsh histories are totally silent on that head.”—Caradoc’s Chronicle continued and edited by Wynne, asserts that Edmund, Earl of March, was Owen’s captive, but is silent about the compulsive marriage.—Camden also has this paragraph: “but he,” meaning Roger Earl of March and Ulster, “dying before King Richard, left issue Edmund and Anne. King Henry IV. (who had usurped

the government) suspecting Edmund's interest and title to the crown, exposed him to many hazards; insomuch that being taken by the *rebel Owen Glyndwr*, he died of grief and discontent."—This laborious and minute genealogical research into Owen Glyndwr's pedigree, and state of domestic affairs, will be thought, by the majority of readers, too intricate, and regarded as an antiquarian reverie. But as antiquities are the auxiliaries of history, such investigations must be admitted as requisite to illustrate it.—When injuries, public and private:—his suit with Lord Grey dismissed, unredressed, by parliament; and the inhuman murder of his king and master, seconded by the strong partiality of his countrymen for Richard, had exasperated our hero to a pitch bordering upon madness, which determined him to throw off a yoke which had galled his countrymen for near a hundred and twenty years: his first step was to establish his descent from the ancient race of British Princes, and thereby confirm his claim and title to the throne of Wales.—An ambitious attempt! How well executed, remains to be examined.—His genealogy, lately perused by the reader, will not justify his claim, if we regard him as a descendant from *Bleddyn ap Cynfyn*, the *Third Royal Tribe*, who, though maternally descended from Roderic the Great, was, in common with his brother, Rhwallon, an usurper.—But, if we call in the female line, Owen's title will appear firmer and better established. His mother was descended from a daughter of Llewelyn, the last Prince of Wales: *from whom he claimed the throne of Wales*; and contested his title,* for fifteen years, with uncom-

* Cui genus a proavis ingens, Jarumque paternæ

Nomen erat virtutis, et ipsa accerrimus armis.—VIRGIL.

mon, skill, bravery and courage; died unsubdued; the king of terrors terminating the dispute.

CHAP. III.

The events which led to, and were the immediate causes of the Insurrection, examined; and commencement of Hostilities.

THE perfidious league, the unnatural confederacy between Eion, an eminent chieftain of South Wales, and Iestyn ap Gwrgant, Lord of Glamorgan, both rebels against their sovereign, and the invitation and procurement of a body of Normans under Robert Fitzhammon,* (consequent on that league) was the primary cause of the ruin of Cambria.—The Norman leader immediately parcelled and partitioned the pleasant territory of Glamorgan among the adventurers. The castle of Cardiff, built by himself, became Fitzhamon's residence, where he held his courts; the principal parts of the county were reserved for himself, with the dominion of the whole. The manor of Ogmore, with its castle, was given to William Londres; the lordship of Neath, to Richard Greenfield (de Grana Villa or Granville); that of Coyty, to Paine Turbeville; Llanblethain, to Robert Saint Quintine; Talafan, to Richard Siward; the castle and manor of Penmarc, to Gilbert Humfreville (castle dismantled by Owen Glyndwr); the castle and manor of Sully, to Reginald Sully; the manor of East Orchard, to Roger Berkrolles; that of Peter-ton, to Peter le Soor; that of Saint George, to John Flem-

* Son of Haimon Denatus, Earl of Corboil.—*Camden*.

ing; that of Fenvon, to John Saint John; and the manor of Saint Donats, to William le Esterling.*—This was the origin of the *Lords of the Marches or Borders*; *Barones Marchiæ*; *Marchiones de Marchia Walliæ*.—These Lords or *Marquisses* possessed jura regalia, a sort of palatinate jurisdiction, and held their courts and determined causes, and pleaded several privileges and immunities.—Fitzhammon and his peers having succeeded so well, other Norman nobility, encouraged by Rufus, obtained license to conquer the Welsh territories, and to hold the same under homage and fealty. Bernard de Newmarche got possession of the province of Brecon, “which he wrested from the family of Bleddyn ap Maenyrch, whom he had slain in a pitched battle.”† He married Nest, a grand-daughter of Gryffydd ap Llewelyn. The lordship continued in his blood until the attainder of Stafford, in Henry the Eighth’s time.—Newmarche’s retinue were rewarded as follows: the manor of Abercynwric and Slowch to the Aubreys; the manor of Llanhamlwch and Tal-y-llyn to the Walbiefs; the manor of Gilston to the Gunters; and the manor of Pont-wilim, to the Havards.

Roger de Montgomery next did homage for the lower part of Cardiganshire: and Arnulph his younger son obtained the great lordship of Pembroke.—Monmouthshire, then a part of Wales, was conquered; Netherwent by the Clares; upper Gwent by Dru de Baladun; Overwent, or northern part of the county was over-run by Brien Fitz Count, Earl of Hereford, one of the followers of the conqueror, afterwards appertained to the Cantelupes and

* Wynne’s History of Wales.

† Carlisle’s Top. Dictionary of Wales.

Braoses, Lords of Abergavenny.*—The Earl of Shrewsbury soon obtained the principality of Powys; this district from this period was an instrument of mischief in the hands of the English; the revolt of its princes, and compulsory alliance with its conquerors, rendered it a scourge to North Wales.—Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, did homage for Englefield and Rhyvonic, and all the country skirting the sea from Chester to Conway. Ralph Mortimer had Elvel; Hugh de Lacie, Euas; and Eustace Cruer, Mold and Hopedale.—Peter Corbet settled on the lordship of Cawrs, Mortimer on Wigmore, Fitz Alen, on Clun and Oswestry. Monthault on Hawarden, Fitzwarren on Whittington, Roger le Strange on Elesmere.—Carmarthenshire fell also a prey to Henry Turbervil and Gilbert de Clare, and was much harassed by the Normans and Flemings; Henry I. made the Castle of Carmarthen the principal seat of the Norman government, which town is supposed to have been in possession of the Saxons as early as the year 877.—Here the princes of Wales had their chancery and exchequer, for the south part of Wales, until the power of the Lords Marches was abolished.

The lords of the marches erected magnificent and strong castles, in the most pleasant and fertile parts, for their residence and defence, and towns for the accommodation of their troops.

The towns built, and castles erected, in Wales, by these lords were, Pembroke, Tenby and Haverfordwest; by Strongbow, William de Valence, and the Hastings. Newport (Pembrokeshire), by Martin of Tours, lord of Cemaes, a barony, very extensive, containing, besides the three boroughs, New-

† Picture of Monmouthshire.

port, Fishguard, and Saint Dogmaels, twenty knights' fees, and twenty-six parishes.—The town and castle of Cydweli, by Londres, afterwards enlarged by the Duke of Lancaster. The towns and castles of Swansea, Oystermouth, Loughor, Radnor, Buellt, and Rhaiader, by the Braces, Mortimers, and Beauchamps. In after times, Ruthyn, by the Lords Grey and Denbigh, by Lacy, Earl of Lincoln.*

At this time, the cities of Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, Shrewsbury, and Chester, were rebuilt or fortified. Environed by their conquerors on every side, the kingdom of North Wales was reduced to Anglesea, Merioneth, and Carnarfon, a part of Denbigh and Cardigan; South Wales, also invested, and broken into by their enemies, could boast of but a small territory indeed.—Notwithstanding these incroachments, and the rigorous deportment of these lords, their tenures, supported by the whole power of England, often tottered, and their conquests were imbittered, and lessened by the natives.—Shropshire, a frontier county, has been observed by *Fuller*, to have been divided from Wales, by a wall of continued castles; and *Speed* tells us, that besides several towns strongly walled, upon this occasion, *thirty-two* castles had been built in it. Camden says, that Shropshire “is environed on every side with towns and castles, being a frontier county, or (as *Siculus Flaccus* words it) *ager arcifinius*, of great use in checking the incursions of their Welsh neighbours.”—The Lords Marchers were twenty-one in number, and sat among the English Lords, and had the titles of those places they

* N. B. These were ancient towns or castles before the Norman conquest, rebuilt or repaired as above.—*Warrington's Wales*, vol. I. p. 380.

had won from the Welsh.—They had absolute regal jurisdiction, originally, in their baronies, where the king's writs did not run. They held of the Kings of England, in capite, by the tenure of serving in wars with a number of vassals, exceeding the present militia proportions,* from their several baronies.

These lords, their great number, and unlimited authority, were a severe scourge to the principality for many centuries.† Though their first establishment contributed to the conquest of Wales, and their continuance was conducive to the submission of the natives, still, it must be alledged, that their oppression and severity were the causes of the several spirited insurrections, which happened at different periods. A few of the *grievs* and *injuries*, done by them, by the kings of England's orders, or connivance at least, may be seen in the Appendix to the Histories of Wales, containing memorials from the poor inhabitants, groaning under their yoke. The following, from the many that might have been extracted, may serve as a specimen of the injustice, profaneness, and sacrilege of the times: "Further in the lands of the said Rees" (Rees Vychan of Ystrad-Towy) "were committed such enormities, which do most appertain to the state ecclesiasticall: that is to saie, in the church of Saint David, which they call Llangadoc, they made stables, and plaid the harlots, and tooke away all the goods of the said church, and burning all the houses, wounded the priest before the high altar, and left him there as dead. Item, in the

* Yorke p. 77.

† "The presents of the kings of England to their nobles continued from the Norman conquest, to Edward I. that at that time, Wales was almost come into the possession of divers English Lords."—Yorke p. 78.

same countrie they spoiled and burnt the churches of Dyngad, Llantredaff, and other churches in other parts; they spoiled their chalices, books, and all other ornaments and goods."—*Warrington.*

Appendix IX. To adduce more instances would be superfluous; as all writers, English as well as Welsh, affirm, that the conduct of these lords was rigorous in the extreme. The poor natives were fined and imprisoned for imaginary crimes; disinherited of their estates, and pillaged of their property, assassinated and murdered, even when experiencing the hospitality of their enemies, and unsuspecting of any hostile attack.—Fortunately for the cause of humanity, no baronies of this sort were erected after the conquest of Wales by Edward I.; those already set up being more than sufficient to overawe a nation, injured, oppressed, and to all appearance, totally subdued.

Another event accelerated the conquest of Wales, and contributed, in no small degree, to enforce submission and allegiance from the inhabitants, and to crush every attempt at regaining their independence.—An inundation happening in the Low Countries, in the reign of William the Conqueror, a vast number of Flemings, driven from their habitations, found an asylum in England. An increase of industrious, useful subjects, was an object to the Conqueror: they were received with alacrity, and treated with cordiality,—These strangers settled in different parts of the kingdom.—William of Malmesbury says, that many Flemings came over "on account of their relation to Henry the first's mother, by her father's side; insomuch that they were burthensome to the kingdom." The old historian further says: "William Rufus had generally ill fortune against the Welsh; which one may well wonder at,

seeing all his attempts elsewhere proved successful. But I am of opinion, that as the *unevenness* of their country, and the severity of the weather favoured their rebellion, so it hindered his progress. But king Henry, that now reigns, a man of excellent wisdom, found out an act to frustrate all their inventions, by planting *Flemings* in their country, to curb and continually harass them." And also, "king Henry often endeavoured to reduce the Welsh, who were always prone to rebellion; at last very advisedly, in order to abate their pride, he transplanted thither all the Flemings that lived in England. "Wherefore," because their number created uneasiness, and were burthensome to the kingdom, "he thrust them all into *Ros*,* a province of Wales, as unto a common shore, as well to rid the kingdom of them, as to curb the obstinacy of his enemies."—Henry II. added to their number, by banishing out of England, all the Flemish soldiers who had followed king Stephen's fortunes, and permitting them to settle among their countrymen in Pembroke-shire.

Though historians confine the Flemings to the lower part of Pembroke-shire; it must be admitted that they extended over a much larger tract of country: viz. the sea coast of Cardiganshire, Pembroke-shire, Carmarthenshire, and Glamorganshire. There are evident marks of a Flemish colony landing in Cardiganshire, who resided on the coast, whose posterity are pointed out, differing greatly in their persons from the Welsh, to this day. A farm, called *Nant-y-Fflyman*, in the parish of Verwick, two miles north of Cardigan, is said to be

* Glamorgan and Pembroke were made counties as early as Henry I. on his importation of the Flemings, and the common law of England planted in them.

so denominated from the landing of this colony at Traeth-y-Mwnt, a small creek just by. The reception they met with was very warm, and the carnage dreadful, on disembarking. Several heaps of sand adjoining Mount Church designate the place where the slain were interred, and are traditionally called *Beddau'r Fflemings* (the graves of the Flemings) where bones of an enormous size often make their appearance.

We read in the Welsh Chronicle, page 198, that the Normans and Flemings inhabited the county of Carmarthen, about Llanstephan, and under the conduct of Gerald and William de Hay, invested the castle thereof. That they extended, likewise, coastwise to Glamorganshire, is evident from the *Gower Whittle*, a provincial article of dress peculiar to the Flemings, and from them adopted by the Welsh in general. The Rev. J. Collins, in his additions to the article Swansea, in Carlisle's Topographical Dictionary of Wales, writes thus: "The S. W. part of Gower is inhabited by the successors of a colony of Flemings, who do not talk the Welsh language, and are distinguished by their dialect and provincial dress. They seldom or ever intermarry with their neighbours on the N. W. side of Gower."*

* Mr. Pye, in his *Aristocrat*, vol. 1, p. 180. supposes that the Flemings in Wales still speak the language of Flanders, and relates, that a servant, enquiring the road, could not understand the language of some cottagers, or make them understand him. The servant was himself a Welshman, and certain they did not speak Welsh. After much altercation and enquiry at an alehouse, all ineffectually, a clergyman solves their doubts, by relating that some Flemish families settled in that part of South Wales, and have retained their language to this day.—Mr. Pye must have been misinformed: They all speak, I mean the lower class, a horrid provincial dialect of the English language, but not much worse than many counties in England; retaining many Saxon words, now obsolete and unintelligible, but to the antiquary.—Mr. Camden observed; "they speak a language so agreeable with the English (which indeed has much affinity

Henry's policy in settling the Flemings in Wales, for the purposes of conquest, security and strength, was very great: being a very warlike people, inviolably attached to their benefactors, the English kings, and always ready to join their standard, or make a diversion, in their favour, against the Welsh.

Such frontier military posts as surrounded the Welsh, such a cordon of warlike foreigners, settled on their coasts, were a source of much evil to them, but altogether inadequate for the purpose they were introduced and established; *securing the fidelity of a nation*; which their presence, harsh usage and oppression contributed to alienate more and more, and was the cause of Glyndwr's Insurrection.

In the reign of Richard II. a sharp contest about a certain common, called *Croesau*, occurred between Owen and Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthyn: the common being situate between the lordships of Ruthyn and Glyndwrwy; which Glyndwr recovered from Grey by course of law.—In the first year of Henry IV. the potent Lord of Ruthyn, taking the advantage of Richard's deposal, and his competitor's loss of influence at court, seized on the said common; a provocation, which a less fiery temper than our hero possessed, could not have passed by unnoticed; but to his honour be it alledged, he did not take up arms before he had recourse to milder means of terminating the dispute. *Otanla prius experiri quam armis sapientem decet. Ter.* He made his complaint to parliament against Lord Grey for such an usurpation of his right; but the times were changed; Richard could not befriend

with the Dutch) that this small country of theirs is called, by the Britons, Little England below Wales."—Mr. Pye, must be regarded here as a novelist, and his account not historically true.

him, and his suit was dismissed unredressed.—Not satisfied with an illegal seizure and possession of Glyndwr's rights, Lord Grey injured him also in his honour, and represented him disobedient to the King of England.—Previous to an expedition against the Scots, Henry summoned his barons to attend with their vassals, among whom Owen was included. Unfortunately for the peace of the realm, the king's writ for the purpose was delivered to Lord Grey, which the demon of discord would not suffer him to deliver early enough to Owen, so as to appear among the other barons. Wilful disobedience was ascribed to him, aggravated, we may suppose, by his antagonist, by every insinuation he could instil, of this breach of duty. His non-appearance was construed into disaffection for the cause, and by this piece of treachery, Grey took possession of all his land: and on this, under the pretence of forfeiture, invaded such parts of Glyndwr's estates, as lay adjacent to his own.* John Trevor, bishop of St. Asaph, advised the lords to be circumspect, lest, by slighting Owen's complaint, they should irritate and provoke the Welsh to an insurrection. Had this advice been attended to, and the salutary maxim of "*Principiis obsta*" been adopted, fifteen years' war might have been averted, and all the horrors attendant on it. Instead of paying a little deference to an injured Welshman's wrongs, some of the lords replied, "That they did not fear those rascally barefooted people."† —When Owen perceived that parliament, so far from doing justice to his remonstrance against Grey's rapacity, that they added insult to injustice, and never reflected that Glyndwr's connections, a-

* Pennant. † Wynne's History of Wales.

bilities and valour, were very illustrious, great and eminent; when he saw a tyrant, countenanced by his sovereign, wresting from him the patrimony of his august and princely ancestors, the die was cast; the period arrived, to vindicate his own and his country's wrongs.

The unhappy Richard's deposal, as well as an injured individual's private loss, operated on the Cambro-Britons, (always ready to throw off the Saxon yoke) who flocked to his standard from all parts; encouraged by the prophecies of ancient time, of Merlin and of Aquila, who foretold, that the government of Britain, after having been in the possession of the Saxons and Normans, should return at length to the Ancient Britons. Such predictions, aided by the warmest fancy of contemporary bards,* who set before them in the most glowing terms, the valour of their leader, acted with irresistible force upon a superstitious people. The muses, during this spirited and prosperous insurrection, revisited their native seats, invited and encouraged by Glyndwr's bounty and hospitality,

* Iolo Goch, Owen's domestic bard says, that his house was a sanctuary for the order. He made them instruments of his future operations and to prepare the minds of his countrymen against the time of his intended insurrection. The following bards lived at that period:

Daniel ap Llogwrn meu.

Syppyn Cyfeiliog

Dafydd ap Gwillim

Dafydd Goch

Dafydd ap Meredydd ap Tudur

Dafydd Morganwg, (Ifor Hael's bard)

Gryffydd ap Dafydd ap Tudur

Gryffydd Gruc

Gryffydd ap Gwoflyn

Gryffydd ap Meredydd

Ieuan Teu Hyna'

Iorwerth ap Cynriog

Ithel Dda

Y Cyw

Llewelyn Goch ap Meiriog Hen

Gryffydd Moel y Pantri

Gryffydd ap Meredydd ap Ednyfed

Madog Benfras

Y Melyn

Y Prol

Rhisierdyn

Rhys Meigon

Sionyn

Sion Cent. Poet. recent

Rhys Goch Bryri.

and animated by the transient ray that had dawned on freedom: They had always been the principal springs of action, and influenced the valour of the nation, inspiring their leaders with sentiments of liberty and independence, and their followers with courage and bravery; and celebrated the deeds of their heroes, according to Lucan:—

*"Vos quoque qui fortes animas belloq. preemptas
Latidibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plerima securi sudistis carmina Bardi."*

Hostilities commenced in the summer of the year 1400. His inveterate enemy, Lord Grey, being the chief cause of the insurrection, Owen very justly and naturally attacked the lands of Grey, who was then absent, recovered his possessions, and probably might have enjoyed his patrimony unmolested, and forgotten his private wrongs, sheathed his sword, and meditated no further revenge, had not the king of England regarded the attack as against himself, and undertaken Reginald's cause, and dismissed Lord Talbot and Lord Grey himself to crush him, without weighing Owen's right to his own estate, derived from a train of ancestors, and most unjustly usurped by his enemy. Their motions were so rapid, that his house was surrounded before he was aware of their hostile intentions. This proves irrefragably his determination to rest after recovering his estate; else his guards would not have permitted such a surprise. Fortune favoured his escape into the woods. We now find him on the alert: he soon raised a powerful army, and caused himself to be proclaimed Prince of Wales, on the twentieth of September, 1400.

He took the advantage of a fair held at Ruthyn, and surprised it on that day. The confusion attending such places favoured the attack; the town was

plundered, the inhabitants stripped of their moveables, and his army much enriched with valuable booty. He, lastly, set fire to the town in various places, and retired to his fastnesses among the mountains. One of such strong-holds Mr. Pennant imagines to have been near Corwen, called *Caer-Drewyn*, a vast circle of loose stones,* forming a strong rampart. Henry marched in person against Owen, and penetrated as far as Anglesea; being determined to nip the insurrection in the bud, and suppress a revolt undertaken with such spirit. Slaughter and devastation marked his steps; and even places sacred for the purposes of religion did not elude his wrath. *Llanfaes*, a convent built by *Llewelyn ap Iorwerth*, over the remains of queen Joan, felt his fury; he slew some of the monks, and carried the rest away with him. The church, and different parts of the edifice, were nearly demolished, and plundered of their valuables. The secret cause of this devastation was, the monks of *Llanfaes* were Franciscans, an order that were firm adherents to Richard II. and were further suspected of countenancing the present insurrection. The king at length, finding the monks he took away an incumbrance, set them at liberty; but stocked the house with English friars, from whom he could expect implicit obedience. Pennant says, that he made restitution to the monastery; but Bingley says, that it was re-established by Henry V. The Franciscans were firm adherents to the late king, and had invited

* The encampment may still be distinguished from the church-yard of Corwen, in the direction of the village of Cynwyd. On the side of the church, is cut a very rude cross, which is shewn to strangers as the *Sword of Owen*, whose memory is still dear to the natives, and his exploits related with raptures.—Mr. Carlisle, in *Top. Dict. of Wales*, says, "*Owain Glandur* is supposed to have had a palace in this parish.

Owen to invade England. This occasioned a persecution of the order, and many suffered death on that account. No material action took place during this expedition. The king was attended with all the forces that could be collected in *ten* counties, as appears from the proclamation for raising them, dated the 19th of September, from Northampton, addressed to the lord lieutenants of the counties; ordering all persons capable of bearing arms to array themselves, and be ready to march, according to his majesty's orders. The bailiffs and good people of Shrewsbury were also strictly enjoined, in the same order and proclamation, to secure the town, and oblige the Welsh inhabitants thereof to give pledges for their loyal conduct, and on refusal, to commit them to prison. Such precautions evince the king's military talents, in guarding a place of such importance (as Shrewsbury proved, as a frontier town) from falling into the insurgents' power, and giving them the key of England; and also his apprehensions of Owen's strength and prowess. Henry, notwithstanding his mighty force, was obliged to return without bringing Owen to an action, who, according to the example of the most politic of his ancestors, retired among the Snowdon hills. On the 8th of November, in this year, Henry granted all Owen's estates in North and South Wales, to his brother John, Earl of Somerset; which was selling the skin before the bear was taken: history is silent of his ever taking possession of them. Indeed, as Mr. Pennant, with his usual acuteness, observes, this act of the king's was as *weak* as it was *irritating*.

Glyndwr's strength increased daily; a proof of the popularity of his cause, of the odium and detestation under which the usurper, Henry, and his adherent, Grey, lay. It is worthy of notice, and very

true, that Glyndwr's revenues in money, at this period, did not exceed 300 marks.* We have already seen the principality of Powys divided and subdivided among Bleddyn's descendants; so that the part of it which descended to our hero, was, in point of power, manerial matters only;† and his rents, pursuant to feudal customs, must have been received in kind, and tho' considerable for a baron perhaps, were very inadequate for a *Prince of Wales*, now in arms against the whole power of England, and, as yet, without a foreign ally, though his prospects will soon appear to greater advantage. An idea prevailed among many of the Welsh, as well as English, that Richard, the deposed monarch, was still alive: this circumstance contributed greatly towards recruiting Owen's army: his countrymen knew him to be a personal favorite with Richard; and expected him to recover his kingdom, by the assistance of his old companion in arms; and Wales experience a little less tyranny and oppression, if not its ancient independence.‡ Henry, having heard that clemency was the brightest jewel in the crown, was determined to try what effects conciliatory measures would

* Pennant. † Yorke.

Upon the *Berwyn Mountain*, behind the church, is a place called Glyndwr's Seat; here he might view forty square miles of his own land.—*Cambrian Traveller's Guide*, p. 404.

‡ The following account paints the superstition of the times, and also corroborates the above assertion: anno 1401. "The Devil appeared at Danbury, in Essex, upon the day called Corpus Christi, in the likeness of a grey friar, who, entering the church, raged very insolently, whereby the parishioners were marvellously feared; the same hour, with a tempest of whirlwind and thunder, the top of the steeple was broken down, and half the chancel shaken and scattered abroad; shortly after, Sir Roger Clarendon, knight, the bastard son (as it was said) of Edward, the Black Prince, and with him his squire, and a young man, were beheaded, and eight friars were brought to open judgment, were condemned and hanged, that published *King Richard to be alive*."—*The Doom warning to Judgment*, p. 262.

produce; he, consequently, issued a proclamation, on the 30th of November, offering to take under his protection all that would resort to the city of Chester, and submit to his son Henry, Prince of Wales; after which, they should be at liberty to return to their respective homes.—The result of this declaration of the king's will to his refractory subjects was neither submission nor allegiance: they had already drawn the sword, and lost the scabbard, and a continuance of the war was the consequence. Here it is to be regretted, that Henry's declaration was drawn but in general terms: had he condescended to treat particularly with Glyndwr himself; curbed the rapacity of Lord Grey; and sanctioned Owen's right to his patrimony, by him to be enjoyed, without let or molestation, from any haughty, usurping, Lord Marcher, the most beneficial consequences might have ensued, and the effusion of much blood prevented. Our hero was a person of liberal education, had been a courtier, and a squire of the body to King Richard, and must have possessed a mind capable of being appeased, when his personal wrongs had been redressed; and persuaded to give up a contest so unequal. He has been branded, by English, with the epithet of a most *profligate rebel*, and such opprobrious names; his conduct eventually merited the reproach, yet much may be urged in extenuation of the revolt, though not in vindication of his horrid devastations. The interval of 400 years which has elapsed since the insurrection, permits us to judge more impartially of the errors of both sides, than a shorter space would have done, or propriety rendered expedient at an earlier period. The King of England's connivance at Lord Grey's unjust seizure of Owen's property, and Owen's irritable conduct at the usurpation, and consequent rebellion, may be

now canvassed and scrutinized with a becoming severity, without impeachment of disloyalty to the one, or an undue censure of the other. Henry's persecution of Richard's adherents was notorious; and Glyndwr's resentment of his late sovereign's wrongs, violent and outrageous. The historian, according to Cicero's instructions, should neither advance a falsehood or suppress a truth; should keep his mind unbiassed, and suffer it not to be warped by ill-will or favour; and to have Tacitus's direction always before him:—"Præcipium munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque exposteritate et infamia metus sit." The eminent and virtuous should receive the meed due to their merit, while the corrupt and vicious, through a dread of the sentence that awaits their wicked deeds at the tribunal of posterity, may be deterred from perpetrating crimes unworthy of a good citizen of the state.

CHAP. IV.

Transactions and Military Operations which occurred in the year 1401.

THE first half of this year elapsed without any memorable action. Owen, like a provident prudent warrior, was employed in recruiting his army, which Henry's dilatoriness favoured. Many Welshmen, superior to national prejudice, resided at this time in England. Some for the benefit of an English education, and others might have been earning a livelihood by different occupations, and professions. No sooner had the trump of war sounded, than these emigrants returned to their homes, and

joined Owen's standard of revolt. By a continual accession of troops, composed of all orders, his army bore a respectable aspect, and the posture of his affairs was far from being despicable.—Henry's usurpation, and bad title to the crown, created remorse in many of his most distinguished adherents, and made them the less active in his cause; their disloyalty to Richard operated on others, while both circumstances concurred to add strength to Owen's cause.—His affairs in respect to the European monarchs were rather perplexing. The unhappy Richard had married Isabel, daughter of Charles VI. King of France, who, on the deposal of her consort, met an asylum in her father's court. The distraction of Charles's affairs, prevented an immediate retaliation of injuries, he calmly received back his daughter and her paraphernalia, and renewed a truce with Henry for thirty years. This seeming passiveness and delusive truce were not durable; an opportunity now offered for Charles to vindicate his daughter's injuries and her husband's death.—The Scots also at this time availed themselves of Henry's perilous situation, and threatened to invade England: this kept him a considerable time in the central part of his kingdom; afforded Owen a respite from hostilities, and time to increase his army. Henry, Prince of Wales,* now but thir-

* Grandson of John of Gaunt (so called because he was born at Gaunt, in Flanders), was fourth son of Edward 3d, and created by him Duke of Lancaster, who advanced also the county into a palatinate: John was also, by marriage with Constantia, daughter of Peter, King of Castile, styled for some time, King of Leon and Castile, which title he renounced by contract, and in the 13th of Richard 2nd was created, by consent of parliament, Duke of Aquitaine, to have and to hold the same title for term of life of the king of England, and monarch of France, but to the great disgust of the inhabitants of the province of Aquitaine, who supposed their seigniority was now inseparably annexed to the crown of England. His titles were, *John, son to the King of*

teen years of age: with a genius and humanity far beyond his years, influenced his father to issue out pardons to all his refractory subjects in the counties of Caernarfon, Anglesea, and Flint, the people of Denbigh and Merioneth; to the inhabitants of Chirkland, Bromfield, and Yale; to the hundred of Oswestry; and to those of Ellesmere and Whittington; then reckoned parts of Wales. Glyndwr, the *Primum mobile*. Rice ap Tudor, William ap Tudor, and all such as were in actual custody, or who should continue in arms, excepted.* The first pardon was dated the 10th of May, the second, the 5th of June.

Owen's estates and influence lay both in North and South Wales: he encamped this summer on Plinlimmon hill, a central position well adapted for receiving succours from all parts of the principality; this detachment, for we cannot suppose it to be his main army, consisting of a hun-

England, Duke of Aquitain and Lancaster, Earl of Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester, and High-steward of England. John of Gaunt built St. Mary's college at St. David's.—*Fenton*: St. Mary's college at St. David's was founded by John of Gaunt, Blanch his wife, and Bishop Adam Houghton, but endowed by the bishop alone, with the advowson of several churches.

John of Gaunt's son, Henry, surnamed *Bolingbroke*, succeeded to the duchy of Lancaster, who, having deposed Richard, he could not bear the title of Lancaster: and unwilling that the said title should be discontinued, ordained, by assent of parliament, that Henry, his son, should enjoy the same, and be styled PRINCE OF WALES, Duke of Aquitain, Lancaster, and Cornwall, and Earl of Chester; and also that the liberties and franchises of the duchy of Lancaster should remain to his said son, severed from the crown of England.

Camden, p. p. 797, 798.

The unjust aggression of Henry IV. was the cause of the long contest between York and Lancaster, wherein, from the 28th of Henry VI. unto the 15th of Henry VII. there were thirteen fields fought, three kings of England, one Prince of Wales, twelve dukes, one marquis, eighteen earls, with one viscount and twenty-three barons, besides knights and gentlemen, that lost their lives.—*Camden, p. 507.*

* Pennant.

dead and twenty chosen men, and well accounted, made marauding excursions, ravaged and plundered the county of Montgomery, and were a terror to the King of England's adherents, nay to all who did not adopt his cause. The chief town, Montgomery, was taken by storm: the suburbs of Pool were burnt; by which devastation Edward, the then Earl of Powys, suffered greatly, his own tenants being deeply engaged in the insurrection. This earl was warmly attached to Henry, who gave him the garter; his intercession obtained pardon for his tenants, on their submission and promise of future allegiance and fidelity. The marches or borders were at this time in no respectable state of defence, else they would not have been over-run so easily, and ravaged so severely.—The abbey of Cwmhir,* in Radnorshire, next felt his desolating hand; the visit he made to this religious house was only a prelude to his future devastations among cathedral and other churches. That his fury should be directed against places consecrated for the purposes of religion is only thus accounted for:—that some of the bishops, clergy, and religious orders, had

* "A Cistercian abbey, founded by Cadwalahan ap Madoc, A.D. 1143, and intended for sixty monks, but never finished. It was dedicated to Saint Mary, was valued 26th Henry VIII., (when it had only three monks) at £28 17 4 per annum, in the whole, and £24 19 4 clear; and was granted, 37th Henry VIII., to Walter Henly and John Williams."—*Tanner's Not. Mon.*

"Cwmhir is six miles N.E. from Rhaiader, it is called the *Abbey chapel*, because it had been erected within about 140 paces of the site where the once venerable old monastery of Cwmhir stood. It is situate in a peculiarly romantic valley, being placed amidst elevated hills and broken precipices, and was once environed with forests of oak, which are now demolished. The site of the abbey is still very distinguishable, by the ruins; and it should seem, that the entire fabric, in conjunction with the cloisters and religious houses, occupied the space of about one acre."—*Carlisle's Top. Dic.*

warmly espoused Henry's part. Could we assert that the impostures of the monks offended, or that superstition, so prevalent, gave him umbrage, his conduct had not appeared so reprehensible; but possessing no records of our hero's creed, we can only conclude by saying, that "*ira furor brevis est.*" Besides the monks being in Henry's interest, another reason for Owen's persecution of all the orders (the Franciscans excepted), was the enmity which at all times subsisted between the Welsh bards and the monks and friars. The bards, we have already seen, were countenanced and favoured at Owen's court, sang the praises of himself and his princely ancestors, and predicted success to his arms, and a fortunate termination of the war. The small pittance of learning then existent was confined to the cell of the recluse. The religious houses had been (many of them) founded by the Normans, consequently, the influence of the inmates was exerted in favour of their benefactors and supporters; "the greater cause the more love." The monks were not the only enemies to the the bards:—the extinction of the whole order was attempted by Edward I. whose edict for executing them by martial law continued in all its rigour to the end of the present reign. "If Plato could banish Homer; if a prince, to whom Ariosto presented his poems, could say, where the devil he got such fooleries? if the monks, in the middle ages, could so abuse the minstrels, and they the monks, as we know they reciprocally did,"* we shall not be surprised to find the two orders at variance in the present contest; the one favoured by our hero, and the other harrassed and persecuted; a mandate of extermination, issued out by the Eng-

* Turner's *Vindication of British Poems*, p. p. 106, 107.

lish kings, against the one class, while their fostering hand was extended to the other.

Glyndwr's next visit was to New Radnor, a place of great strength, fortified by the Lords Marchers with a wall and castle. The garrison, consisting of three-score men, where all beheaded on the brink of the castle yard, and the town laid in ashes. Being a frontier town, well fenced, caused Owen to wreak his utmost fury against it. It never recovered its ancient eminence or former importance since this desolating visit.—Plinlimmon, fixed upon by Owen as a *castra æstiva* (summer station), was in every respect adapted for the purpose of predatory excursions, and defending himself against a more numerous army. Its stupendous height, (2463 feet, perpendicularly above the level of the sea at low water) its acclivity and strong intrenchment, argued great military skill in choosing it for his present quarters. His handful of men, well intrenched, might have braved the whole power of the borders for a long time, provided they were supplied with provisions, and a famine did not compel them to capitulate.

Owen being sensible what faithful subjects the Flemings of Pembroke and Cardiganshire were to their benefactors, the kings of England, made them feel his *wrathful ire*, and in his late perambulations from his aerial camp on Plinlimmon, proved a little troublesome to them. Bent on retaliation, and the removal of so unpleasant a neighbour, they assembled a body of fifteen hundred men, made a most expeditions march, surrounded Owen and his army on *Mynydd Hyddgant*:

Thus encompassed unawares, a retreat proved impracticable; he put himself in the best posture of defence, made a most able resistance, and when

unable to bear the onset any longer, or remain in such a situation, he took the desperate resolution of cutting a passage through the enemy, which he effected with his usual fury. The Flemings thrown into disorder by this fierce attack, took to flight in a most disorderly manner, leaving two hundred of their party dead in the field of battle. Owen's situation at this juncture was highly critical: there was no alternative, but to surrender, or a desperate effort; he chose the latter, and his success surpassed probability: This victory added to Owen's fame: his reputation as a general was established; multitudes crowded to his standard; and even Henry, whom we have found lately rather inactive, was alarmed, and thought it time to endeavour to check the successes of so formidable an enemy. Accordingly he marched into Wales in person, a second time, at the head of a great army, about the beginning of June. The venerable abbey of Strata Florida, in the county of Cardigan, was destroyed during this invasion, and the country ravaged.* Henry's

* "Rhesus, son of Griffith, Prince of South Wales, built and endowed an abbey here" (at *Strata Florida*, or, *Ystrad Fflur*) "A.D. 1164, for Cistercian monks, which was burnt down about A.D. 1294, in the wars of King Edward I. with the Welsh; but being soon rebuilt, it flourished till the dissolution, about which time its revenues were valued at £118. 7s. 3d. per annum, as Dugdale, and £122 6s. 8d. as Speed."—*Not. Mon.*

The ruins of this once magnificent edifice are very small, excepting a very beautiful Saxon gateway, *Cable Moulding*, which is still perfect. It is sixteen miles N. E. from Lampeter, situate on the banks of the River Tivy, in a well wooded dell. The old cemetery, surrounded by a stone wall, is about 120 acres: it contained once 24 yew trees, and 39 according to Leland; under one of which lie the remains of the British Ovid, Dafydd ap Gwiliam, a native of this county. Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, in 1237, convened all the chieftains of Wales at this abbey, to take the oath of allegiance, and do homage to his son David, in preference to his eldest son Griffith. The national records were kept, one copy at this abbey, and another at the abbey of Conway, which were yearly augmented as affairs turned out, and compared every third year, when the bards resident in those abbeys, went from

army suffered greatly, by fatigue and famine, and his retreat was as inglorious as his devastations were dreadful. It is supposed, that during this expedition, the English king succeeded in corrupting the fidelity of many of Glyndwr's adherents and staunch friends. A pardon was granted to William ap Tudur (a gentleman excepted in the last pardon) and to thirty-one principal persons of the country. This is dated from Westminster, on the 8th of July.—Such a revolt from the cause; a defection of such magnitude, consequence and distinction would have discouraged a less enthusiastic warrior, whose ardour was undamped; new friends supplied the vacancy, and the evident increase of strength and influence, determined Henry to march again in person against him. Orders were accordingly issued to the lieutenants of Devonshire, and twenty-one other counties, to repair with their

one to the other, in the time of their *Clera*, or ordinary visitation.

Hospitia (*ysbyttau*), or houses of entertainment, were erected at convenient distances, for the accommodation of these bards, at *Ysbytty Ystwith*, *Ysbytty Cynfyn*, and *Ysbytty Ieuan*, in their peregrinations. "A road may be also traced from *Nant Madoc*, in Radnorshire, where once stood a monastery, to *Strata Florida*, whither the monks, on certain occasions, went in procession."—*Carlisle voc. Cwm-y-Ddaudwr*.

This abbey was the repository of the remains of the following Welsh princes:—

Cadell ap Gryffydd ap Rhys, interred in the year	1176.
Hywel ap Ieuaif	1185.
Owen ap Rhys	1191.
Rhys ap Gryffydd, the founder	1196.
Gryffydd ap Rhys	1202.
Hywel ap Rhys	1204.
Maud de Bruce, wife of Gryffydd ap Rhys, buried in a monk's cowl	1210.
Isabel, daughter of Richard Clare, earl of Hereford, wife of William Gam, Lord of Gower	1210.
Rhys, the son of Gryffydd ap Rhys	1221.
Maelgon, the son of Prince Rhys	1230.
Owain ap Gryffydd ap Rhys	1236.

Leaden coffins are frequently dug up through the space allotted to the old church-yard, which space does not pay tithes.

forces to Worcester, on the first of October. The event of this campaign, undertaken so late in the year, is unknown; but Carte says, that it was as unfortunate as the former.

The following instance of paternal affection does great honour to our country: a Welshman having rashly promised to the king to betray Glyndwr, repented of his engagement, and eagerly stretching

On the road from Rhydfendigaid to Tregaron, a river is crossed, called *Fflur*, and a farm-house hard by is shewn as the site of a monastery, called also *Ystrad Fflur*.

The charter for building Strata Florida abbey, was confirmed by Prince Rhys, before many of his army, in the church of St. Bridget, at Raiadr, according to Dugdale's Monasticon. Henry the second's charter confirms the same. The present structure, Dugdale says, was built by the abbot in 1294.—That raised by Rhys ap Gryffydd, is supposed to have stood two miles from this, in a S. W. direction, on a plain near the river *Fflur*. The remains, now used as a barn, are called Hen Fonachlog, a part probably of the original edifice, which escaped the conflagration in the wars of Edward I. who granted the sum of £78, to repair the damages, and a licence to rebuild the abbey.

A bard, named Owen Gwynedd, passing, in the 16th century, by the remains of this once venerable abbey, wrote thus:—

Mae dialedd ryfedd am ryfyg—buchedd,

Bechod gwyr eglwysig;

Mawr yw cur y mur cerrig.

Am watwor Duw—matter dig.

Vide Meyrick's Cardiganshire.

Theophilus Jones asserts, that "Bleddyn ap Maenarch, who died about the end of the 11th century, was buried at Ystrad Fflur Abbey, which was built by his brother-in-law, *Rhys ap Tewdwr*, and endowed in 1164, by Rhys ap Gryffydd, who styles himself founder, in his charter preserved in the Monasticon. Leland, in his Collectanea, more correctly calls Resus filius Theodori P. South-Wallia, primus fundator of this monastery."—*Jones's Brecknockshire*, v. 1, p. 90.

Pont ar Fynach (the Devil's Bridge), so often celebrated in prose and verse, was built, previous to the year 1188, by the monks of Strata Florida. *Llanillyr*, in the parish of Llanfihangel-Ystad, in the county of Cardigan, appertained to Strata Florida:—"A Cistercian nunnery, and, as Leland saith, cell to Strat Flour, but of the yearly value of £57. 5s. 4d., as Dugdale and Speed. It was granted, 7th Edward VI. to William Sakevyle and John Dudley."—*Tanner's Not. Mon.* Now the property of William Lewis, esq. of Llysnewydd, in the county of Carmarthen.

out his neck to the executioner, told him to strike, for that he had two sons at that time in the service of his chieftain, who would have inevitably suffered for the father's treason, he, therefore, preferred death to the discovery of Glyndwr's councils, or to deliver him to Henry's power. The transactions of this year shall be closed with a *Cowydd*, which begins thus in the original Welsh:

“ Eryr digrif afrifed,
Owain, &c.”

The Poem was written by his chief bard, Gryffydd Llwyd, who regrets his absence, chaunts his praise, and predicts the success of the war. Thus paraphrased by a bard of 1773, whom Mr. Pennant does not name.

1.

CAMBRIA's princely eagle hail!
Of Gryffydd Vychan's noble blood!
Thy high renown shall never fail,
Owain Glyndwr, great and good!
Lord of Dwrddy's fertile vale,
Warlike, high-born, Owain, hail!
Dwrddy, whose wide spreading streams,
Reflecting Cynthia's midnight beams,
Whilom led me to the bower;
Alas! in an unguarded hour!
For high in blood, with British beverage hot,
My awful distance I forgot;
But soon my generous chief forgave
The rude presumption of his slave.

2.

But leave not illustrious Lord!
Thy peaceful bow'r and hospitable board
Are ill exchanged for scenes of war,
Tho' Henry calls thee from afar.

My prayers, my tears were vain ;
 He flew like light'ning to the hostile plain.
 While with remorse, regret and woe,
 I saw the god-like hero go:
 I saw with aching heart
 The golden beam depart.
 His glorious image in my mind
 Was all that *Owain* left behind.
 Wild with despair, and woe-begone,
 Thy faithful bard is left alone,
 To sigh, to weep, to groan !

3.

Thy sweet remembrance, ever dear,
 Thy name, still ushered by a tear,
 My inward anguish speak ;
 How could'st thou, *cruel Owain*, go,
 And leave the bitter streams to flow
 Down *Gryffydd's* furrowed cheek ?
 I heard, (who has not heard thy fame ?)
 With ecstasy I heard thy name
 Loud echoed by the trump of war,
 Which spoke thee brave and void of fear ;
 Yet of a gentle heart possess'd,
 That bled within thy generous breast
 Wide o'er the sanguine plain to see
 The havoc of hostility.

4.

Still with good omens may'st thou fight,
 And do thy injured country right !
 Like *Great Pendragon** shalt thou soar,
 Who made the din of battle roar,
 What time his vengeful steel he drew,
 His brother's grandeur to renew,
 And vindicate his wrongs ;
 His gallant actions still are told

By youthful bards, by *Druids* old,
And grateful Cambria's songs.

5.

On sea, on land, thou still didst brave
The dangerous cliff and rapid wave;
Like *Urien*, who subdued the knight,
And the fell dragon put to flight,

Yon moss-grown fount beside:

The grim black warrior of the flood,
The dragon gorg'd with human blood,

The water's scaly pride.

Before his sword the mighty fled,
But now he's number'd with the dead.

Oh! may his great example fire

My noble patron to aspire

To deeds like his! impetuous fly,

And bid the Saxon squadrons die:

So shall thy *laureled bard* rehearse

Thy praise in never dying verse;

Shall sing the prowess of thy sword,

Beloved, and victorious lord!

6.

In future times thy honoured name

Shall emulate *brave Urien's* fame!

Surrounded by the numerous foe,

Well didst thou deal th' unequal blow,

How terrible thy ashen spear,

Which shook the bravest heart with fear,

Yon hostile towers beneath!

More horrid than the light'ning's glance

Flash'd the red meteors from thy lance,

The harbinger of death.

Dire, and more dire, the conflict grew;

Thousands before thy presence flew,

While borne in thy triumphal car,
Majestic as the god of war,
Midst charging hosts unmov'd you stood,
Or waded through a sea of blood.

7.

Immortal fame shall be thy meed,
Due to every glorious deed,
Which latest annals shall record,
Beloved and victorious Lord!
Grace, wisdom, valour, all are thine,
Owain Glyndwrwy divine!
Meet emblem of a two-edg'd sword,
Dreadful in war, in peace ador'd!
Steer thy swift ships to Albion's coast,
Pregnant with thy martial host.

Thy robes are white as driven snow,
And virtue smiles upon thy brow;
But terrible in war thou art,
And swift and certain is the dart
Thou hurlest at a Saxon's heart.

8.

Loud fame has told thy gallant deeds;
In every word a Saxon bleeds.
Terror and flight together came,
Obedient to thy mighty name:
Death, in the van, with ample stride,
Hew'd thee a passage deep and wide.
Stubborn as steel thy nervous chest
With more than mortal strength's possessed:
And every excellence belongs
To the bright subject of our songs.

9.

Strike then your harps, ye Cambrian bards;
The song of triumph best rewards

An hero's toils. Let Henry weep
 His warriors wrapt in everlasting sleep;
 Success and victory are thine,
 Owain Glyndwrwy divine!
 Dominion, honor, pleasure, praise,
 Attend upon thy vigorous days!
 And, when thy evening sun is set,
 May grateful Cambria ne'er forget
 Thy noontide blaze; but on thy tomb
 Never fading laurels bloom!

* The omen alluded to (verse 4th) was a star and a fiery dragon, which, according to the interpretation of Merlin, predicted the days of Uthyr, (*Uthyr*) surnamed Pendragon, from having two golden dragons to be made, one of which he presented to the cathedral of Winchester, the other he carried along with him to the wars; or what is more likely, wore by way of crest on his helmet.—*Jeffrey of Monmouth*, p. 254, 257, 283.—*Pennant*.

"The appellation of *Uthyr*, or *wonder*, was certainly an adopted one, to create an enthusiasm for the emergency of the time; but the real name of this hero, probably, was *Meirig ap Tewdrig*, who certainly was the father of his illustrious successor, who, on that occasion assumed the mythological name of *Arthur*, or the bear exalted. It is a curious circumstance, tending to corroborate this statement, that in some copies of the Genealogy of Saints, Anna, who was the sister of Arthur, is called the daughter of *Meirig ap Tewdrig*, and in another, she is said to have been the daughter of *Uthyr*."—*Cambrian Biography*, sub. voce *Uthyr*.

CHAP. V.

Transactions of the year 1402. Lord Grey and Sir Edmund Mortimer taken prisoners.

A Comet, making its appearance early in this year, was a fine subject for the bards to expatiate upon. Its appearance was interpreted as favourable to the cause of Glyndwr, and such a phenomenon, aided by the fancy of the poets, inspired a superstitious people with valour and bravery.—*Iolo Goch's* enthusiasm, on this occasion, is blasphemous and profane: his ardour, in his *Cowydd y Seren*, to celebrate his patron, makes him class this comet, or blazing star, and another which presaged the birth of Arthur, with *that* which foretold our *Saviour's* birth. A heated imagination without rein or curb, a fervency to construe this uncommon phenomenon, a prognostic of Owen's success, carried the bard into a reprehensible, culpable extreme.*—Owen's first and prosperous outset served too well to confirm the poet's prediction, and to give new vigour to his adherents. His primary enemy, the cause of the insurrection, again felt the effects

* *Comet*.—These lines were written on the comet which appeared in the early part of Owen Glyndwr's military career.

"The comete apperite that yeare,
A fair brycht sterrel and a clere,
That sterre appere and signifyis,
As clerkis fyndis in gret tretys,
Dede² in Princis, or Pestylens
To fale³ or wide⁴ wyth violens:
And thither the bemys it strekis⁶ all
Quahare⁷ they casis first shall fall."

Wyntown's Cronykil of Scotland, B. ix. c. 22. v. 75. Anno 1401.

1. Star. 2. Death. 3. Fall. 4. Rage. 5. Beams. 6. Stretches.
7. Where.

of Owen's power, and courage. Lord Grey,* with his usual attachment to Henry, and resentment of the injuries done to himself, his friends and vassals, by Glyndwr, raised a considerable army; fought, and was defeated, made captive, and kept in du-rance for a long time; his treatment we may suppose was none of the mildest, which his friend Henry commiserating, issued a special commission, dated 10th of October, in this year, empowering Sir William de Roos, Sir Richard de Grey, Sir William de Willughby, Sir William de Zouche, Sir Hugh Huls, and also John Harvey, William Vans, John Lee, John Langford, Thomas Payne, and

* The lordship of Ruthyn was bestowed on Lord Reginald de Grey, by Edward I. as a reward for his service in the conquest of Wales, and to be a check upon the Welsh; how well he fulfilled the contract of curbing the natives, will appear from the memorials and remonstrances of the times, expressive of the oppressive conduct of the Greys in particular, and the wretched situation of the principality. Lord Grey is *itemed* about sixteen times in the memorials to Edward I. and accused of introducing new customs; of rapacity; of abusing the king's power in setting lands to farm; of depriving officers of places purchased and commissions granted them by the king; of threatening to imprison any that should complain of his conduct; of refusing justice upon the strength of the king's charters; of revoking the most just sentences, when they militated against his interest; of granting land not his own to Basingwerk abbey; and finally of compelling the Welsh to plough and sow his land.—Such was the conduct of the first Lord Grey of Ruthyn, and his descendant (Owen's opponent) did not seem meliorated or any ways improved, else the insurrection, now related, would never have happened, to stain the British annals.—They were also Lords of *Hastings*; and *Weisford* in Ireland. *Edmund Grey* was created Earl of Kent, by Edward IV.; and succeeded by his son George, who, by his lady *Anne Wideville*, had Richard Earl of Kent, who squandered the estate and died without issue; but by his second wife Catherine, daughter of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, he had *Henry Grey*, knt. whose grandchild Reginald by his son Henry, was made Earl of Kent, by queen Elizabeth, 1572.—Dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Henry.—Henry, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Charles, who had issue Henry; succeeded by the Rev. A. Grey, son of George, son of Anthony, third son of George Grey, the second Earl of Kent of this family; Anthony had issue, Henry who succeeded to the title, and had issue Anthony now Earl of Kent.—*Camden, Gibson's edition, (Anno 1695) p. p. 214, 223, 224.*

John Elneſtow, to treat with Owen and his council for the release of his personal favourite; and the ransom to be paid for his enlargement. The sum contracted for was ten thousand marks: whereof six thousand marks were to be paid upon the feast of Saint Martin following, and to deliver up his eldest son with some other persons of quality, as hostages for the payment of the remainder. Orders were given to Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London, to Sir Gerard Braybroke his father, and Sir Gerard his son, feoffees of divers lordships for Lord Grey, to sell the manor of Herteleigh, in Kent, in order to raise the said sum. And for the better enabling him to pay so great a fine, the king was pleased to grant; that whereas it was enacted, that such persons as were proprietors of land in Ireland, and did not reside thereon, should for such their neglect, forfeit two thirds of the profits to the king; that notwithstanding this act, Lord Grey should be absolved for six years from paying the same.—The payment of so vast a sum for his liberty, evinces Grey's adherence to Henry's interest, and the refusal of Owen's advantageous terms, proves his loyalty unimpeachable. However, Owen had the penetration to exact an engagement from his lordship to observe a strict neutrality, another term of his release. An alliance with Owen perfected the treaty. Immediately upon his enlargement Lord Grey married Jane, third daughter of his *much valued friend*, thinking thereby to exempt himself and his vassals from the hostile visits of so powerful a vindicator of his rights and avenger of his wrongs.—Lord Grey had no issue by this lady; the union was either compulsive or political. Some English historians assert that Grey died in captivity; but we shall introduce him on the stage again.

in the year 1409. Historians differ about the scene of action, in which Grey was made prisoner. The Welsh lay it on the banks of the *Fyrnwy*, in the county of Montgomery, but the English say, that it was in the neighbourhood of Ruthyn, which is the most probable relation.—Owen is said to have advanced towards the castle of Ruthyn with a detachment of troops; Grey unaware of any hostility from so small a party, incautiously advanced against them, fell into an ambush, was taken prisoner, and triumphantly carried fast bound into confinement among the rugged fortresses of the Snowdon hills. The ransom and other terms of his redemption are related already.—Glyndwr, having satiated the acme of his vindictiveness, in securing his potent enemy, gave the rein to his fury, and began to chastise his countrymen that were averse to his cause, and shewed a partiality to the Saxon yoke, by adhering to Henry. He burnt the houses of Cefn-y-fan and Cessail Gyfarch, belonging to Iuean ap Meredudd,* a partizan of the house of Lancaster, to whom, jointly with Meredudd ap Hwlkyn Llwyd of Glynllifon, was intrusted the town of Caernarfon, an English captain commanding in the castle. The place was so closely blockaded by Owen's adherents, that Iuean happening to die there at that time, it was found necessary to convey his remains privately by sea to be interred at Penmorfa (Llanfihangel according to Bingley), on the other side of the country. The Welsh, after a long blockade of Caernarfon, finding their efforts fruitless, raised the siege, and employed

* His brother Robert ap Meredudd sided with Owen, as may be seen by a pardon granted him by Henry IV. and Henry Prince of Wales.—*Yorke*, p. 14.—From Robert descended the houses of *Gwydir*, *Cessail Gyfarch*, and *Hafod Lwyfog*.

their force in a more assailable quarter. Owen was now ascending fast to the meridian of his glory.

Hywel Sele of Nannau, in Merionethshire, a Lancanstrian, and first cousin to Owen, came to an end as cruel as it was singular. The abbot of *Cymmer*, with an intention of reconciling the cousins, brought them together and seemed to have effected his charitable purpose. Hywel was reckoned the best archer of his days: Owen seeing a doe feeding, pointed it out to his companions as a fine mark; Hywel bent his bow, and pretending to aim at the doe, treacherously turned round and discharged his arrow full at Owen's breast; having armour, fortunately, under his clothes, the assassin's weapon failed of its purpose. The vile perpetrator was seized on, hurried away, nor heard of more. Forty years after, the skeleton of a large man, such as Hywel, was discovered in the hollow of a great oak, in which Owen was supposed to have immured him, in reward of his perfidy; and he did "suffer greatly for the cause that urged *him* first to the bold deed."—*Rowe*. Owen also burnt his house, the ruins of which are to be seen in Nannau Park, belonging to Sir Robert W. Vaughan, baronet, of Nannau Hall, a few miles north of Dôlgelley: Mr. Pennant calls the ruins a mere compost of *cinders* and *ashes*. What became of the well meaning abbot we have no account; as none but the Franciscans* were favourable to

* The abbey of Cymmer was in the parish of Llan Iltyd, two miles N. W. from Dôlgelley. According to Bishop Tanner, it was a Cistercian abbey, which was dedicated to Saint Mary, and as it is said, founded by Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, about the year 1200. Its yearly revenues were valued, 26th Henry VIII. at £51 13 4 as Dugdale, and £68 15 4 as Speed. The abbot in 1231 gave the English army 300 marks to spare it, having threatened to set fire to it, for

Owen's cause, a suspicion arises that this abbot's interference did not proceed from good motives, but that he was privy to Hywel's assassinating purpose and intention.

When Owen was carrying away his captive, Hywel, Gryffydd ap Gwyn, his relation, of Ganolwyd in Ardudwy, attempted his rescue; the contest was warm, numbers fell, and victory declared for our hero, who also burnt Gwyn's houses of Berthlwyd and Cefncoch to ashes.

The scenes which immediately follow, the historian, as well as the reader, would wish to suppress; but chaste historic truth demands the developement of facts, however vilifying to the hero, or painful to the narrator.—The facts alluded to were, the havoc, destruction, and sacrilegious demolition of sacred edifices, and his avenging spirit towards those ecclesiastics who adhered to King Henry. Norman and English policy had filled the cathedrals and religious houses with Englishmen; places of trust or profit were the lot of foreigners, and scarcely any post of honour or emolument was enjoyed by a Welshman. However, the destruction of structures, in all ages held sacred, by whomsoever filled, was indefensible. During these ravages, he set fire to the cathedral of Bangor; and reduced its most ancient, hallowed fabric to ashes;—rebuilt in Henry 7th's reign, by Bishop Deny; but never recovered its ancient splendor.* St. Asaph cathedral experienced a similar fate; neither did the episcopal palace; nor the canons' houses, escape his fury; and remained

giving false intelligence respecting the safe pass of a morass.—*War.* v. ii. p. 66.—Magnificent ruins of the church remain; the hall and part of the abbot's lodgings form a farm-house.—*Carlisle.*

* Camden.

in ruins for upwards of seventy years, when they were rebuilt by Bishop Redmuud.*

*Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædesque labentes deorum et
Fœda nigro simulacra fumo.*—HORACE.

His vengeance was wreaked in a peculiar manner against St. Asaph:—Its bishop, John Trevor, though preferred by Richard II. had most disloyally and ungratefully pronounced the sentence of deposition against his unfortunate master; nay, to heighten his crime, he accepted an embassy to the court of Spain, to justify Bolingbroke's proceedings, to the reigning prince. Henry, most humanely considerate, regarding his persecution owing to his attachment to his royal person, commissioned the bishops of Hereford, Voltorno, and Bangor, to permit him to hold, in commendam, the living of *Meivod*,† with the chapels of Pool, and Kegidfa, or Guilsfield, in order to support his dignity during the ravage of his diocese. This prelate had given good counsels previous to the insurrection, and soon felt the dreadful effects of their being despised and neglected.—The

* Bingley.

† *Meivod* is seven miles N. W. from Welshpool, called by Nennius *Caer Meguid*, and *Caer Metguod*. Many circumstances, besides the coincidence of names and vicinity to the station required, render it highly probable that this was the *Mediolanum* of Ptolemy and Antoninus. The redoubted antiquary, Archbishop Usher, fixes the Roman station here.—It is seated *Medis* inter *lanas*, in a plain between two rivers as much as *Llanfylllyn*; neither coins, ruins, nor any other tokens, designate *Llanfylllyn* to be *Mediolanum*; while *Meifod* has its causeways, extensive ruins, hearths, gateway fields, and every relic indicating it to be a place of eminence in time of yore. The etymology of *Meifod* has been variously attempted: *Mai-fod*, a summer habitation, (*castra æstiva*) and *Ymwy-fod*, another derivation of the name, *Mesopotamia*, well accord with a Roman station; the former pointing out the purpose it was intended for, and the latter its situation. *Meifod* was the dormitory of the Princes of Powys.—*Vide Carlisle and Camden.*

destruction of his palace and cathedral, obliged him to leave Wales, and seek an asylum in England. Glyndwr deposed Richard Young, Bishop of Bangor, for his adherence to the usurper, and kept him in close confinement. Llewelyn, or as some call him, Lewis Bifort, was appointed Bishop of Bangor, vice Young, deposed.

Owen's late ravages and successes roused Henry, and he resolved to march in person against him once more. He issued writs to the lieutenants of Nottingham, Derby, and of *thirty-two* other counties, dated from the castle of Berkehamstede,* in the county of Hertford, June the fifth, in which he requires them to assemble the forces of their several districts, and to attend him at Litchfield on the seventh of July, in order to crush the revolt, and annihilate the revolter. As Henry's processes and parading preparations had hitherto all come to nothing, in this also he was anticipated, and news arrived, announcing a great victory obtained by Glyndwr, on the twenty-second of June, over Sir Edmund Mortimer, before the king could assemble his forces. Owen, after defeating, and binding Lord Grey to a neutrality, harrassed all the chieftains unfavourable to his views; advanced towards Herefordshire and the borders of South-Wales, carrying fire and sword through the lands of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, a child of ten years of age, then in the custody of the king, with

* "In this place the nobles of England had a meeting, when they were plotting to throw off the Norman government; and thither came William the conqueror, in person, much concerned for fear he should, to his great disgrace, lose that kingdom which with so much blood he had purchased."—Camden, 301.

The situation of the two usurpers was strongly coincident; William's success in suppressing that plot, might have resolved Henry to fix on the same place to issue his mandates.

his brother Roger. These disasters were rather pleasing to Henry:—he was sensible of the Earl of March's just title to the crown after Richard, being descended from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III.; which title had been acknowledged in parliament. Sir Edward Mortimer, uncle to the young Earl of March, stung by Owen's insults, unable to bear his depredations, collected a formidable body of his nephew's tenants and retainers from the county of Hereford, and adjacent parts, particularly from Melienydd, in Radnorshire, and with these troops advanced against Owen, determined to give him battle.—The action took place in Brynglâs, a mountain near Pillith, a little south-west of Knighton, in Radnorshire. The battle was very bloody, but victory declared for Owen. The vassals and tenants of Lord March suffered most severely. The affair is variously reported: some represent Lord Mortimer's men bending their bows against their own party; others alledge, that March's Welsh tenants took to flight on the first onset, to whose cowardice they attribute the defeat. The Herefordshire men were the chief sufferers. Mortimer lost 1100 men. "The shamefull villaie used by the Welshwomen towards the dead carcasses," says Hollinshead, "was such as eares would be ashamed to heare, and continent toongs to speak thereof. The dead bodies might not be buried, without great summes of money given for libertie to conveie them awaie."

Shakespeare, also, relates this odious tale thus:—

"When all athwart there came
A post from Wales, loaden with heavy news;
Whose worst was, that the noble Mortimer,
Leading the men of Herefordshire to fight
Against the irregular and wild Glyndwr,
Was by the rude hands of that Welshman taken;

A thousand of his people butchered,
 Upon whose dead corpse there was such misuse,
 Such beastly, shameless, transformation
 By those Welshwomen done, as may not be,
 Without much shame, retold or spoken of."

Thomas de Walsingham, an historian, who wrote within forty years of the event, first relates the story, so dishonourable to the Welshwomen, if authenticated. To Walsingham's authority Mr. Pennant opposes that of another ancient writer, who ascribes these barbarities to a follower of Glyndwr, one *Rees a Gyrch*. The resentment of the Welsh, male and female, at this period, was wound up to a pitch of frenzy; but the above narrations must have been grossly exaggerated, else why prohibit the English to marry such amazonian furies, by an express law? A law, that disfranchised of their liberties *Englishmen* that married *Welshwomen*; a law, subsequent to the perpetration of the barbarities alluded to, enacted by Henry IV. himself; an irrefragable proof that those enormities, ascribed to the Welshwomen, were regarded false, malicious, base, and slanderous: and an indubitable evidence of the English king's jealousy of the charms of our *countrywomen*, whom nothing short of an act of the legislature, could prevent his subjects from marrying.

The young Earl of March* is said, by many

* The *Mortimers* descended from the niece of Gonora, wife of Richard I., Duke of Normandy. Among the Norman adventurers they obtained, by conquest, a considerable part of Radnorshire, after defeating *Edric the Wild* (*Edric Sylvaticus*) a Saxon. In 1240 Sir Ralph Mortimer married Gwladys, a daughter of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth. After having continued for a long time the leading men of the country, as Lords of Wigmore, Roger, great grandson of the above Ralph, was created *Earl of March*, by Edward III. accused of contriving Edward the Second's death, seized in the queen's apartment by Edward III. and executed. His son Edmund was deprived of his inheritance and title, for his father's crimes. But his son Roger restored. (The reader is desired not to confound the Mortimers, Earls of March, with the Earls of March in Scotland; who

historians, to have led his own men to the above action, and to have lost his liberty in the defeat, and obliged to marry a daughter of Glyndwr.—But at this time he endured another species of confinement at Windsor; and the report of his union with a daughter of Glyndwr has been already refuted. The error must have originated from his uncle, Sir Edmund Mortimer's commanding the forces of the family, and been made prisoner. Great interest was made to Henry, to ransom him, but to no purpose. The misfortunes of the Mortimers, a rival

were descendants of Gospatrick, Earl of Northumberland, which title is now borne by the most noble family of Lennox, Duke of Richmond.)—The descent of the powerful house of the Mortimers since their alliance with the Welsh, may be acceptable to the reader, which I give from Dr. Powell's edition of Caradoc's Chronicle of Wales.

"After whose death (meaning David ap Llewelyn ap Iorwerth) the right of inheritance descended and fell to his sister of the whole blood, Gladys, the wife of Ralph, Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, who had issue Roger Mortimer, Peter, John a friar preacher, and Hugh, Lord of Chilmersh. Roger, (by right Prince of Wales) married Maud, daughter of William de Bruce, Lord of Brecon, by whom he had issue Edmund, Roger Lord of Chirkland. William and Geoffrey; and two daughters, Margaret married to the son of the Earl of Oxford, and Isabel married to John Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. (This Roger died in 1282, and was buried in the abbey of Wigmore. Edmund married Margaret Fendles, and had issue Roger, John who was slain in a tournament at Worcester, Edmund, Hugh, and Walter; and two daughters, Maud, married to Theobald, Lord Vernon, of whom the earls of Shrewsbury and Essex are descended; and Joan, who died without issue.—Roger married Joan, daughter of Sir Peter Jonevil, and had issue Edmund, Sir Roger and Geoffrey, Lord of Cowick, called in history, *Comes Jubinensis*; and seven daughters, Catherine, married to Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick; Joan, married to James, Lord Audley; Agnes, Countess of Pembroke; Margaret, married to Thomas, Lord Berkeley; Maud, married to John Charleton, Lord Powys; Blanch, married to Sir Peter Grannson, knight, and Beatrice, married to Edward, son and heir to Thomas Brotherton, earl-marshal, and after his death to Thomas de Bruce. This Roger escaped out of the tower, and fled into France, with Isabel, queen of Edward II. and Edward, the prince, her son, by whom (after the king's deposal) he was created Earl of March, and afterwards attainted and executed.—Edmund married Eleanor, widow of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, and by her

house, were the support of his throne, and Henry could never be brought to listen to any proposals for his release, alledging that Sir Edmund had wilfully and treacherously thrown himself into Owen's power.

This victory added greatly to Glyndwr's fame: troops poured in upon him from all parts; and though Henry was shamefully regardless of the fate of Mortimer, self-preservation made him sensible that such a success as attended Owen's arms might in a short time endanger his own personal safety.—

had issue, Roger, and John who died without issue. Roger was, by Edward III. anno regni 29, restored to the earldom of March, and all his grandfather's inheritance, honours and possessions, the attainder being repealed and made void: he had issue by Philippa his wife, the daughter of William Montague, Earl of Sarum, *Edmund*.—*Edmund* married *Philippa*, daughter and sole heiress of *Lionel, Duke of Clarence*, in whose right he was Earl of Ulster; he had issue Roger, and Edmund, that was taken by *Owen Glyndwr*; and two daughters, Elizabeth, married to Sir Henry Percy, knight, son of the Earl of Northumberland, and Philippa, married first to John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, and afterwards to Richard, Earl of Arundel, and John, Lord St. John. Roger, now Earl of March and Ulster, Lord Wigmore, Trim, Clare, and Connaught, married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, by whom he had issue Roger and Edmund, *who both died without issue*; and two daughters,—Ann, married to Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge; and Eleanor, Countess of Devon, who died without issue. Richard Plantagenet and Ann had issue Richard, Duke of York, and Isabel, married to Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex; from whom the Earl of Essex now living is descended (*viz.* in the year 1684). Richard, Duke of York married Cicely, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, and had issue Edward IV. King of England; Edmund, Earl of Rutland, George, Duke of Clarence, and *Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King of England, by the name of Richard III*; and three daughters,—Margaret, married to the Duke of Burgundy; Elizabeth, married to John La Poole, Duke of Suffolk; and Ann, married to Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, and afterwards to Sir Thomas St. Leger, knight. Edward IV. married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers, and had issue Edward V. who died without issue, and Elizabeth, married to King Henry VII. and mother to Henry VIII. *of famous memory*, father of the Queen's Majesty (Elizabeth) that now is, who, by lineal descent, is the right inheritrix to the principality of Wales."—*Dr. Powell.*

Accordingly, declining to muster his army at Litchfield, new writs were issued, dated the thirty-first of July.—The order was to harrass the insurgents by three invasions from different quarters.—The first division of the army was to rendezvous at Shrewsbury, to be commanded by the king in person; the second at Hereford, to be assembled by Edmund, Earl of Stafford, Richard, Earl of Warwick, and the lords Grey, Abergavenny, Audeley and Berkeley; and the third, under the conduct of Prince Henry, at Chester, thus early inured to military discipline, as well as initiated in state affairs. The forces were to be ready at each place by the twenty-seventh of August. The interim was well employed by Owen: sensible that such mighty preparations would take up some time before they could act in concert, he gave loose to his fury, in the beginning of August, against those who sided with the English; the inhabitants of Glamorganshire, as descendants of the Norman conquerors of that district, were pre-eminent for their loyalty to the king, and oppression to the natives.—They now felt the dire effects of an irritated, injured, countryman. The visit of *Ivor Bach* to Fitzhammon, was no less welcome than this of Owen to his descendants.* He marched into the county, and ravaged it in all parts.—He burnt, pursuant to his desolating system, the bishop's

* *Ivor Bach*, a Briton who dwelt in the mountains, a man of small stature, but of resolute courage, who marched by night, with a band of soldiers, and seized Cardiff castle, carrying away William, Earl of Gloucester, Fitzhammon's grandson by the daughter, together with his wife and son, whom he detained prisoners till he had received satisfaction for all injuries.—*Camden*.

Ivor Bach.—The residence of this renowned Briton was *Castell Coch*, an outpost of Cardiff. He was attached to the daughter of *Iestyn ap Gwrgaint*, was refused consent, stormed Cardiff Castle, and took her by force. He was slain in a valley called *Pant-coed-Ivor*.

castle at Llandaff, and the archdeacon's house; he also burnt Cardiff, which contained many religious houses; "a goodly priory founded by Robert first Earl of Gloucester: a priory of black monks, or benedictines; a house of black friars, in Crokerton street; a house of *grey friars*, dedicated to *Saint Francis*, under the custody or wardship of Bristol; and also a house of white friars.* None of these orders experienced any favour from our hero, but suffered indiscriminately; but the Franciscans, who had been firm adherents to King Richard, and seemed to have been on good terms with Owen, escaped the conflagration; the whole town being burnt, excepting Crokerton street, where their friary lay. In this destructive excursion through Glamorganshire, he demolished the ancient castle of *Penmarc*, which belonged to Gilbert Humphreville, one of the Norman adventurers, which has remained in ruins ever since. In his return Owen touched at Abergavenny, a town and castle of eminence, in the county of Monmouth, which he burnt. The castle was built by Hameline, son of Dru de Baladun, who subdued *Overwent*. It passed to the first Earls of Hereford, and afterwards by marriage to the Braoses, which family becoming extinct, the barony and castle descended to John Hastings, whose great grandson dying without issue, it came to the family of Beauchamp; by entail, and by similar means passed to *Richard, Earl of Warwick*;† now assembling, jointly with others already mentioned, the second division of the army, at Hereford, for the invasion of Wales. The demolition of this town and castle was highly

* Tanner's Not. Mon.

† Coxe's Historical Tour in Monmouthshire.

politic, in order to draw Warwick to its defence, to divert him from the grand coalition of armies now forming, and thereby prevent a junction of the three powerful divisions intended to act against the puisne Lord of Glyndwrwy. *Crug Hywel* next lay in Glyndwr's route. The manor was granted by Bernard de Newmarch, to his associate in the reduction of the Welsh, Sir Humphrey Burghill; it afterwards passed through the family of Turberville, to Sir John Pauncefote, who fortified the castle, under a commission from Henry, to resist the incursions of Glyndwr;* and it probably fell a sacrifice to his fury, after he had demolished the castle of Abergavenny.—*Tre'r Twr†* (Tretower) castle, belonging originally to Bernard de Newmarch, and granted by him to a knight, named Pycard, from whom it passed through the family of Bloet to Lord Berkeley, (now in the second division of the army raising at Hereford) we may suppose did not escape devastation, as it lay in a direct line from Crug-Hywel to Brecon.

Henry, having completed his formidable army, advanced towards the borders of Wales, with a

* *Crug Hywel*, originally a British fortress, on a projecting knoll of the Breanog mountain. It appertained, it seems, in Edward the second's reign, to Roger Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, Lord Marcher of *Blaenllyfni*, to which *Crug Hywel* was subordinate; and called *Allsby Castle*, as is conjectured from *Gerard de Allsbye*, keeper of the tower, who assisted Mortimer to escape from thence, where he had been confined for treason and rebellion. In reward for his assistance, *Allsbye* is supposed to have received the government of this castle.—It passed through Pauncefote and the Herberts, to the Somersets, of which the Duke of Beaufort is the present representative.

† *Tre'r-Twr*, *The township of the towers*, a small village nine miles and a half N. W. from Abergavenny, with the ruins of a castle. The barony passed through the Berkeleys and Herberts, into the family of the Somersets, as well as the above.—The Vaughans (called *Vehans* by Leland) had a considerable property here, with a mesne manor, which has been dissipated.—*Cartule*.

determined purpose to make Owen feel his powerful rage and vengeance. But a fatality attended all his motions. Now ready to strike a decisive blow, news was brought him, that the Scots had invaded England, with a body of twelve or thirteen thousand men, under the command of the great Douglas. Panic-struck, he ordered the lieutenant of the county of Lincoln to hasten towards the north, with all the force he could muster, having received intelligence that they meant to enter England on the 15th of August.

Circumstances render it highly probable that the Scots and Glyndwr acted in concert at this time: the success that attended the Welsh arms; the unguarded state of the northern borders; Henry's attention to his army that was to conquer Wales; to which if we add, the common hatred and inveteracy of both nations against the English; were motives very alluring to the Scots, to fix on this period to make a descent upon England.—Both nations had felt the galling yoke of oppression; had drank deep of the water of bitterness, and their unanimity augured a happy issue and termination of their mutual sufferings, and equal bondage.—During the impending storm, Henry was wholly absorbed with his darling project of conquering Wales and humiliating his rival. Whether a junction was formed between the three grand divisions of Henry's army is uncertain and immaterial; as the event of the invasion was equally inauspicious with his former attempts on Wales. Owen, who, consonant to the practice of the best British warriors, had too much prudence to hazard a battle against so superior an army, retired to the fastnesses and natural fortresses of the mountains; drove away the cattle, and deprived the English of every means of sub-

sistence. The interposition of a most tempestuous season of storms and rains; a "war of elements" intervened; by which Henry's well-appointed army suffered extremely; continual watching against an enemy, always on the alert, and ready to fall upon them from his aerial strong holds, wasted them with fatigue and sickness: there was no alternative but a dishonourable retreat. The English, instead of attributing these disasters to the real causes, our hero's manœuvres, and the intervention of bad weather; assigned them to the incantations of the British chieftain and agency of the devil.

Quod est ante pedes, nemo spectat;
Cæli scrutantur plagas.—Cicero.

Disgrace is ingenious, and an old historian, when relating the inglorious event, says, that Owen "through art magicke (*as was thought*) caused such foul weather of winds, tempest, raine, snow and haile to be raised for the annoiance of the king's armie, that the like had not been heard of."—The Britons were adepts in magic, as appears from Pliny's words; "but why should I take notice of these things in an art, which hath traversed the ocean, and reached the *utmost bounds* of nature? Britain at this day honours it with so much pomp and ceremony, that one would imagine the *Persians* had been taught it by them,"—Owen, with a view of being more terrific to his enemies, might have insinuated his skill in spells and charms. He lived in a dark superstitious age, and might have taken advantage of the credulity of the times. Shakespeare puts these words into his mouth:—

"Where is the living, clipt in with the sea
That chides the banks of England, Wales, or Scotland,
Who calls me pupil, or has read to me?
And bring him out, that is but woman's son,

Can trace me in the tedious ways of art,
Or hold me pace in deep experiments,
I can call spirits from the vasty deep!"

News from the north, announcing the defeat of the Scots, was an alleviation of the ill success of the late expedition,—an expedition, which must have exterminated the Welsh, but for Owen's *skill in magic and intercourse with wizards*; as the King of England superstitiously fancied. The Earl of Northumberland,* and the northern barons, had assembled their forces to oppose the Scots, then on their return home; overtook them on the 15th of September, on Homildon hill, near Wooler, Northumberland, and gained over them a complete victory. Numbers of the Scotch nobility fell in the battle, and numbers were taken, among whom was their gallant commander, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, styled by his countrymen *Tyneman*, from the loss of men that attended him in all his conflicts.—Sir William Stewart de Foresta, ancestor of the Earl of Galloway, was executed on pretence of treason against the King of England (whose subject he had at one time been, or was pretended to have been) having been taken prisoner at this battle.†—This battle was the prelude to great events, introductory of circumstances which terminated in

* Camden says that a *stout* engagement happened in the year 1288, between the Scots and English, at Otterburn, in the county of Northumberland, victory three or four times changing sides, and at last fixing with the Scots: for Henry Percy (for his youthful forwardness, by-named Hotspur) who commanded the English, was himself taken prisoner, and lost 1500 of his men; and William Douglas, the Scotch general fell with the greatest part of his army: so that never was a greater instance of the martial prowess of both nations. The above battle was the *Thesis* of the old ballad of *Chevy Chase*, *Sir Philip Sydney's delight*; on which Addison wrote a pleasing critique and comment in the *Spectator*.—Camden, p. p. 850, 870.

† *Stuart's Genealogical History of the Stewarts.*

the destruction of the Percy family.—This noble family (descended from Charles the Great, originally) came from the Earls of Brabant, who, by marriage, got the name and inheritance of the Percies. The present Henry Percy was created Earl of Northumberland, by Richard II.—His conduct was not very grateful to his benefactor, for he deserted him in his *straits*, and assisted the usurper Henry to the crown; who rewarded his services with the Isle of Man, the constableness of England, and a considerable grant of lands on the borders of Scotland.*—The late signal victory over the Earl of Douglas demanded the thanks of parliament; accordingly a letter of thanks was voted him for his eminent services.—This good understanding was but of a short continuance. Hotspur had been made prisoner by the Scots, and redeemed according to the ancient custom of arms; which awarded to the victor the reward of his valor, and permitted every warrior that was fortunate or brave enough to make a prisoner, to ransom him according to his rank, dignity, and circumstances.—Instead of equitably granting the same privilege to the Earl of Douglas and other illustrious captives of the Scottish nation, Henry gave orders to the Earl of Northumberland, that he should by no means set them at liberty; but that he should deliver them to him; wishing to detain them as hostages for the peaceable conduct of the Scots, or for the purpose of public execution, as an example to others, and for the better establishing and confirming his usurped right to the crown.

* Camden and Pennant.

CHAP. VI.

The coalition between Glyndwr, the Earl of Northumberland, and Sir Edmund Mortimer. A parliament convened at Machynllaeth.—Year 1402 continued.

IN the last chapter, we have left the Percies in a dissatisfied state, on the king's invasion of the ancient title of victors to their prisoners, and restrictions against ransoming them.—Hotspur, son of Northumberland, had married Elizabeth, the daughter of the late Earl of March, by Philippa, the daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence. This alliance with the Mortimers operated on the Percies, to resent Sir Edmund's confinement, to release whom every effort proved abortive.—Remorse for his disloyalty to King Richard, we may suppose, seized also on Northumberland, as appears by his strong remonstrance to Henry; "charging him with perjury, that he had solemnly sworn to him and others, that he would not challenge the crown, but only his inheritance, and that King Richard should be governed during his life by the good advice of the peers of the realm; he, to the contrary, had (by imprisonment and terror of death) enforced him to resign his crown, and usurped the same by the concurrence of his faction; horribly murdering the said king, and defrauding Mortimer, Earl of March, of his lawful right to the crown; whom he had suffered to languish long in prison under Owen Glyndwr (mistaking him for *Sir Edmund*, a common error) reputed those traitors who with their own money had procured his enlargement."*

* Dr. Holland's Note, Camden's Brit. p. 867.

The determination of the Percies to withdraw their allegiance from an usurper, whom their great power and influence assisted (unfortunately and indiscreetly) to the throne, was an act worthy of that noble house. It evidenced minds capable of conviction, that their desertion of Richard was an error they were ashamed of and resolved to do away; and though self interest swayed them in the sequel, their motives at *first* were candid, pure and disinterested.

The Percies did not stand alone on the penitential stool; a general murmur prevailed; disaffection against government pervaded all classes; an affection for the murdered Richard revived; nay, so willing were the people to imagine him still alive, that the many reports on that subject (of which an instance has been already given) were greedily swallowed, and the nation seemed ripe for a revolt and a general insurrection. The Percies immediately released the Scottish prisoners without ransom. This generous deed gained over Douglas to the common cause; who went home, raised a body of men, and joined in the enterprize. Glyndwr was too deep a politician to treat his august prisoner, Sir Edmund Mortimer, with disrespect, and too liberal and civilized to treat him with inhumanity. He was aware of the right of the Mortimers to the crown of England,* and had the in-

* The editor of Caradoc's Chronicle, Wynne, proves the right of the Mortimers to the principality of Wales also, by Sir Ralph Mortimer's union with *Gwladys*, a daughter of *Llewelyn ap Iorwerth*. He asserts that *Llewelyn* married two wives, the first, Joan, daughter of King John, by whom he had issue, David and *Gwladys*; the second *Eva*, daughter of *Foulke de Breant*, by whom he left no children.—The chronicler, in his eagerness to disprove Glyndwr's right, has been guilty of a great inaccuracy, in making *Gwladys* heiress of her brother David, in preference to the elder brother

tion, no doubt of aiding them to recover the throne of their ancestors, while he himself should establish the independence of Wales, and honour it with a prince, descended from the royal tribes, in his own valiant person. Every entreaty on the part of the Percies to get Mortimer released proved ineffectual. The king was deaf to their mediation, guided by sinister, unjust views; else the same promptness would have urged him to get this his ally liberated, as had before incited him, so powerfully and sincerely, to procure Lord Grey's enlargement. Lord Grey was regarded a faithful confederate, but the Mortimers viewed as rivals; hence Henry's difference of feeling and sensibility. The Percies, having shaken off their absurd fidelity

Gryffydd.—Warrington, whose mind was under no bias, relates from the most authentic documents, that Prince Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, in his youth, had married Tangwystl, daughter of Llywarch Goch, the Lord of Rhos; by whom he had a son, very brave, called Gryffydd ap Llewelyn; who behaved undutiful to his father, and was imprisoned by him six years. Imprisoned also by his brother David, who transferred him to the King of England, who lodged him in the tower. He was killed in an attempt to escape. It is true the chieftains of Wales did homage to David in preference to his eldest brother Gryffydd, at Strata Florida, in 1237. Such homage did not invalidate Gryffydd's right of succession, nor that of his sons, Owen and Llewelyn, who were afterwards joint sovereigns of North Wales. Mortimer's right to the crown of *England* was more valid, being descended from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. —However, if it be not allowed that Catherine, daughter of Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, left issue by Philip ap Ivor, of Iscoed, and that Glyndwr is not descended from such issue, then the Mortimers' right is confined to the principality; but not without discrediting the above account. Warrington's relation of Catherine's marriage with the Earl of Fife, and not with Philip ap Ivor, is also an incongruity not easily got over. This note shall be concluded with Mr. Yorke's Genealogy of his late gracious majesty:—

“George III., eldest son, by Augusta of Saxegotha, of Frederick, Prince of Wales, son of George II., son of George I., son of Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover, by Sophia, the daughter of Frederick, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth, the daughter of James I., the son of Lord Darnley and Mary Queen of Scotland, daughter of James V., the son of James IV., by Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., by

to Henry, extended their views, and thought with Nisus:

Aut pugnam, aut aliquid jamdudum invadere magnum
Mens agitat mihi, nec placida contenta quiet est.—*Virgil*.

Their first step was to enter into an alliance with Glyndwr; whose amity must have been very acceptable to them. They immediately obtained the release of Sir Edmund Mortimer, and like the famous Triumvirate of Rome, meditated to divide the empire between them. Their place of meeting was at the house of David Daron, of Aberdaron, Dean of Bangor, son of Evan ap Dafydd ap Gryffydd, descended from Caradoc ap Iestyn, a Prince of Wales. David, their host, was a man of eminence, opulence and interest; warmly attached to the common cause, and a well wisher of the intended revolution; in consequence of which adherence, he was out-lawed in the year 1406. The *Mutina* of these heroes, or place of meeting of these illustrious men, was at Aberdaron, at the south western extremity of Carnarvonshire. What rendered the

Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV., the eldest son of Richard, Duke of York, the son of Richard of Conisburgh, Earl of Cambridge, by Anne, daughter and heiress of Roger, Earl of March, son of Edmund, Earl of March, by Philippa, daughter and sole heiress of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. This Edmund was son of Edmund Mortimer, the son of Roger, the first Earl of March of this family, the son of Edmund, the son of Roger, the son of Ralph, by *Gweladys* Idu, or the black, the heiress of her brother, Dafydd ap Llewelyn, the son of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, or Leolinus Magnus, P. of North Wales, the eldest son of Iorwerth Drwyndwnn, the eldest son of Owen Gwynedd, the son of Gryffydd ap Cynan, the son of Cynan, the son of Iago or James, the son of Idwal, the son of Meurig, the son of Idwal Foel, the son of Anarawd, the eldest son of Rhodri Mawr, or Roderick the Great, the son of Merfyn Frych and Eryllt, the daughter and heiress of the last Prince Cynan Tin-daethwy, the son of Rhodri Molwynog, the son of Idwal Iurh (or the Roe), the son of Cadwaladr, the last king of the Britons, who abdicated, and died at Rome in 688. His present majesty is right heir, in lineal succession, to the British, Cambro-British, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, English, and Scottish kings."—*Yorke*.

place more safe and in every respect adapted for such an assembly, it was a sanctuary, and much resorted to by pilgrims. A place endowed with great immunities and privileges, which afforded inviolable protection to all criminals, from whence the strong hand of the law could not drag them; such a situation, where the very precincts were deemed sacred, must have suited men convened on such an important business, and where secrecy was of such consequence. At this asylum,* the three chieftains formed the division of Britain. Causing a tripartite indenture to be drawn and sealed; by which covenant, Sir Edmund Mortimer, in behalf of his nephew the Earl of March, took all the country from the Trent and Severn to the eastern and southern limits of the island; Northumberland was to have all the counties north of the

* Devotees took boat formerly at *Aberdaron*, for the island of *Bardsey*, which is in the parish of *Aberdaron*. In this small island was a very ancient religious house, founded before the year 516: for *Dubricius*, Archbishop of *Carleon*, having about that time resigned his Archbishoprick, retired hither." Mention is made of *Dubricius'* retirement, in a dialogue between the Saints and *Cybi*, by *Aneurin*, satirist, king of bards, in these words:—

"Pan oedd saint senedd Brefi,
Yn ol gwiw bregeth Dewi,
Drwy arch y prophwyd
Yn myned i ynys Enlli. &c.

Camden and W. Archail. p. 181.

"I can give no account of the founder, but it was generally called an abbey, and is said to have produced a great number of holy men. It was dedicated to St. Mary, and continued till the general dissolution of such houses, when it was found to be endowed with £46 ls. 4d. per ann. as *Dugdale*, and £58 6s. 2d. as *Speed*; and was granted 1st Edward VI. to Sir Thomas Seymour, and 3d Edward VI. to John, Earl of Warwick."—*Tanner's Not. Mon.* Giraldus speaks of the *Colddei* (Culdees) in *Bardsey*, a little island in North Wales, who were the most religious old monks in his age. The abbott's house is a very large building; not far from it is a long arched edifice, a chapel or oratory, with an insulated stone altar, near the east end. In this place, one of the inhabitants reads prayers; other offices performed at *Aberdaron*.—*Carlisle*.

Trent, and Glyndwr all that lay beyond the Severn westward.—An ancient prophecy, concerning a *moldwarp*, a *dragon*, a *lion*, and a *wolf*, was called up, and ingeniously and appropriately applied by Glyndwr, with a view to prove that this alliance and confederacy had been predicted, as well as to animate his countrymen to be the instruments of its completion and fulfilment.—King Henry was designated under the appellation of *moldwarp*, *cursed of God's own mouth*. Glyndwr was the *dragon*; a name he assumed in imitation of Uthyr, whose victories over the Saxons were foretold by the appearance of a star with a dragon beneath; which Uthyr used as his badge; and on that account it became a favourite one with the Welsh. Camden is dubious whether the royal banner of the English, having the “effigies of a dragon with a golden head, so well known to our neighbours, and so terrible to the Pagans in the holy wars,” was not derived from Uthyr. Scarcely, we may presume, did they adopt the banner of their once terrible foe.—On Percy was bestowed the title of *lion*, from the *crest* of the family; on Mortimer, that of *wolf*, probably from a similar reason.

Their first act of royalty was to exhibit articles of their respective grievances to the King of England, their mutual oppressor, and declare to the world their reasons for revolt.

“His amor unus erat, pariterque in bella ruebant.”—*Virgil*.

Our hero was now in the zenith of his greatness; and “glory, like the dazzling eagle, stood perched on his beaver—and fortune's self his standard trembling bore.”—*Lee*.

Having convened the estates of the principality

of Wales at Machynllaeth,* a town of Montgomeryshire, he caused his title to be acknowledged, and was formally crowned, and inaugurated Sovereign of Wales.—David Gam,† or the *one-eyed*, who held his estate of the honour of Hereford, under the semblance of friendship attended this assembly, and demon-like intended to assassinate Glyndwr, his prince, and *brother-in-law*, for he had married a sister of his. He had been long in the service of Bolingbroke, and this treacherous resolution proved his firm attachment to his interest; and his unshaken courage, qualified him for the foul deed. Carte says, that he was instigated to

* Machynllaeth, supposed to be the *Maglona* of the Romans. At Cefn-y-Gaer, in Merionethshire, at no great distance, have been dug up, coins of Augustus and Tiberius, a small gold chain, a sapphire stone neatly cut, curious trinkets of glass, brick, &c. The house (called Glyndwr's parliament-house) is constructed of the thin shaly stone of this country; divided now into tenements, a stable, and a butcher's shop. A spacious gateway alone remains, which is the only mark of its once honourable destination.

† David Gam was the son of Llewelyn ap Howell Vychan, of Brecknock, by Maud, daughter of Iefan ap Rhys ap Ivor ap Elvel. The residence of this celebrated warrior was at Old Court, in the county of Monmouth, the site of which is in a field adjoining Llandeilo Crescent house, the seat of R. Lewis, esq., midway between Abergavenny and Monmouth, Lanvaply road. David Gam was the gentleman sent to reconnoitre the enemy before the battle of Agincourt, and said to Henry V., "An't please you, my liege, they are enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away." In the battle, David, his son-in-law, Roger Vychan, and his relation, Walter Lloyd, rescued the king, when surrounded by his foes (viz. eighteen French cavaliers), whose life they saved at the expence of their own, and killed fourteen of the enemy.—The king, after the victory, approached the spot where they lay in the agonies of death, and bestowed on them the only reward that could be then paid, to their valour, the honour of knighthood. Shakespeare designates Sir David Gam by the name of Fluellin. David Gam resided often at *Peytyn Gwyn*, near Brecon, and many of his descendants at *Tregaer*. Some of the family were buried in Christ's church, Brecon. There are alms-houses in the parish of St. David's, Brecon, with a portion of garden-ground attached to each, about one hundred yards nearer to the town than the church, given by one of the Games of *Newton*, for thirteen female decayed housekeepers, in the town of Brecon.

it by Henry; from which Mr. Pennant exculpates Henry, and attributes his intention to party-zeal, or hopes of reward. David Gam's plot being discovered, he was arrested and imprisoned; and would have met with condign punishment, but was saved by the intercession of Owen's best friends and warmest partizans. When he suffered his merited imprisonment at Machynllaeth, this *Englyn* was composed to him:—

Dafydd Gam, dryglam dreigl, i ti yn wan frwydr,
 Fradwr Risiart Frenin,
 Llwy'r y rho'es Diawl (hawl hŷyl-slip
 Y fath ystad) ei fys i'th din.

David Gam was pardoned on a solemn engagement of attachment to the cause of Glyndŵr and his country. But though his life was spared, liberty was denied him; Owen knew too well the disposition of his valuable prisoner for courage and resolution, to let him have too long a chain, he therefore kept him in close confinement for ten years, from which all the influence and power of his English friends could not release him. "The prison (as described by Mr. Pennant) where Owen kept his captives, was not far from his house, in the parish of Llansaintffraid Glyndyfrdwy; and the place is to this day called *Carchardy Owen Glyndurdwy*. Some remains are still to be seen near the church, which form part of a habitable house. It consists of a room, thirteen feet square, and ten and a half high. The sides consist of three horizontal beams, with upright planks, not four inches asunder, mortised into them. In these are grooves with holes in the bottom, as if there had been originally cross bars, or grates. The roof is exceedingly firm, composed of strong planks almost contiguous. It seems as if it had been two stories; but the upper

part at present is evidently modern."—Not long after securing this dangerous, designing foe, David Gam, Owen visited the marches of Wales, destroying all with fire and sword. Gam's house was burnt, and during the conflagration, calling to one of David's tenants, Owen, with all the sang-froid imaginable, spoke to him in verse, thus:

O Gweli di wr coch *Cam*,
Yn ymofyn y Gyrnigwen
Dywed ei bod hi tan y lan,
A nòd y glò ar ei phen.

This requital of David Gam's traitorous intentions at Machynllaeth, managed *suaviter in modo, sed fortiter in re*, shews that our hero was no stranger to the muses, but a pupil of Apollo as well as of Mars.—Here we cannot but advert to, and regard the promptness of the nation to poetry. Wales had always been the seat of the Muses, a land of harmony. The Druids, peculiar to Britain and Gaul, according to Cæsar, committed to memory a great number of verses, explanatory of their mysteries, which were held too sacred to be committed to writing, which would have deduced greatly from their sacredness. The order was divided into three classes, the *Druids*, the *Ovates*, or *Vates*, and the *Bards*; denominated in Welsh, *Derwyddion*, *Ofyddion*, and *Beirdd*.* These derived their origin

* The late O. Jones, esq the munificent patron of Cambro-British literature, derives *Derwydd*, from *Dew* the oak, and *ydd*, a Welsh termination of nouns; figurately, the Man of the Oak; *Orydd*, from *Or*, raw, and *ydd*; implying a disciple; *Bardd*, from *Bar*, a branch or top, signifying the branching or what springs from. Some deduce *Bardd* from *Bar*, fury, analogous to that poetic fury, or enthusiasm, which the bards fancied, or feigned themselves inspired with.

The Welsh Chronicle mentions three classes of the order of bards:—the first, denominated *beirdd*, composers of verses and odes, in sundry measures; who possessed the *furor poeticus*, a natural genius for poetry. These were the recorders of the arms of the chieftains

from remote antiquity, and were held in great esteem and reverence. This singular order, besides natural philosophy and astronomy, made ethics and metaphysics their study. They celebrated the praises of heroes, and previous to the onset of battle, the domestic bard, pursuant to the laws of Howell Ddâ, was to sing *Unbeniaeth Prydain*, the Monarchy of Britain, which inspired the warriors with sentiments of liberty and fame. The achievements of the mighty and valorous were their favourite recreations, though often obliged to make the fall of their heroes their theme, and deplore their loss in plaintive elegiac numbers. The houses and tables of their princes and chieftains were always open to them, they were their companions in peace, and their associates in war.—In fine, though Edward I. commanded all the bards to be exterminated, the nation still sang; a vein of poetry and of the ancient minstrelsy survived the wreck of empire, and continues to this day.

This short digression shall be concluded with

and the repositories of the genealogies of families; consequently the most esteemed and honourable class. The second class, called *minstrels*, who were performers upon instruments, chiefly the *harp*, and *crwth*, or *crowd*; and others, the *pib-gorn* or *pipe*, the *taburdd* or *tabret*, and the *corn-buelin*, *cornet bugle-horn*. The third class were called *Atganiaid* or *Datgeiniaid*, who sung to, or accompanied musical instruments.

Gryffydd ap Cynan reformed the disorderly behaviour of the Welsh minstrels, by a statute which prescribes their rewards, restrains their dissipation, and curbs their licentiousness. His contemporary, Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, aided him in enacting and enforcing the said statutes. Rhys ap Gryffydd was also a promoter of bardism and harmony, as the great musical feast, given by him in Cardigan castle, evinces.—Vide *Cæsar de bell. Gal.*; *Diodorus Siculus*; *Mela*; *Ammianus Marcellinus*; *Strabo*; *Appian*; *Posidonius*; *Lucan*; *Sextus Pompeius Festus*; *Nennius*; *Giraldus*; *Dr. J. D. Rhys's Cambro-Brytanice Lingvæ Instit. et Rudimenta*; *Leges Howell*; *Evans's Dissertatio de bardis*; *Leland*; *Mallet*; *Jones's Musical remains*; *Warrington's history of Wales*; and *Turner's Vindication of ancient British poems*.

two specimens of Welsh poetry, the first an *Englyn* on the silkworm, composed entirely of vowels; and the other, a distich on thunder; which shew that the "Welsh language can boast the softness and harmony of the Italian, and the majesty and expression of the Greek." *

O'i wlu wy i weu & a, a'i weuau
O'i wyau y weua;
E' weua ei wê aua',
A'i weuau yw Ieuan ia.

The same among Owen's Epigrams, thus:

Arte mea pereo, tumulum
Mihi fabricor ipse,
Fila mei fati duco,
Necemque neo.

In English.—I perish by my art;
Dig my own grave;
I spin my thread of life;
My death I weave.

ON THUNDER.

Tan a dw'r yn ymuriaw,
Yw tarranau dreigiau draw.

In English.—The roaring thunder, dreadful in its ire,
Its water warring with aerial fire.

* Bingley's North Wales.

CHAP. VII.

The Battle of Shrewsbury—Year 1403. Owen's Alliance with the King of France—Year 1404.

AFTER the confederation between the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Edmund Mortimer, and Glyndwr, military preparations were made with great vigour by all parties. Percy, being confined by illness at Berwick, was prevented joining his son Hotspur, who marched with his forces from the north, joined by his uncle, Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, who had received his title from Richard II. Vast numbers crowded to their standard as they passed through Cheshire, a county ever affectionate to the late king, and well affected to the present cause. Owen's conduct on this occasion has been censured, though perhaps unjustly: Percy sent to him, to desire a meeting, which our chieftain declined; the reasons for non-compliance are not recorded. Numbers, however, of his countrymen joined Hotspur, and marched with him to Litchfield; carrying the stag, the badge of the late Richard, to distinguish his party, as well as to be the means of adding to his forces. In Litchfield, Hotspur proclaimed his reasons for attempting the deposal of a sovereign whom his family had so lately elevated to the throne. It appears, from Hotspur's desire to form a junction with Glyndwr, and his march to Litchfield, that his intentions were to attack Henry on his march, which Owen's refusal prevented. Finding himself too weak to fight him single-handed, Hotspur led his army from Litchfield towards Shrewsbury. Glyndwr was also indefatigable in augmenting and forming his army, which

was very considerable: and Sir Edmund Mortimer was no less employed in raising the vassals of the young Earl of March. To meet these formidable preparations on the part of the confederates, Henry, by writ, dated Westminster, the seventh of March, appoints his son, Henry of Monmouth* (then only fifteen years of age), his lieutenant for Wales and all the adjacent counties, with powers to raise men, and act according to his own discretion against the insurgents; to enquire into all treasons and other cognizable matters; how the insurgents came by arms, provisions, and other requisites; and to notice those who were guilty of granting them supplies; and finally, with his usual *clemency* and *forbearance*, the king enjoined the prince to grant pardon to all who would lay down their arms, return to their allegiance, and give security for their future peaceable conduct.

The security of the borders of England being entrusted to Henry, Prince of Wales, Henry IV. meditated a march against the Percies. But hearing that our hero, straitened for provisions, was preparing to ravage and waste the marches, he issued orders from Westminster, dated June the twelfth, to the lieutenant of Gloucestershire, to raise what force he could, and endeavour to prevent the incursion. Henry then advanced against the northern rebels by forced marches, and reached Burton-upon-

* Henry V. was born at Monmouth; the site of the apartment remarkable for his birth-place, is shewn by the inhabitants. He was nursed at Court Fields (a seat belonging to the family of Vaughan), on the banks of the Wye, under the Countess of Salisbury. "The house," Mr. Coxe remarks, "is of a much more modern date than the period of Henry V.; and does not contain any thing which recalls the memory of those times. The tattered remains of a rich bed, called the bed of Henry V. were long shewn at this place; and his old cradle was preserved at the house of the Rev. Mr. Ball, rector of Newlaid, in the vicinity."—*Pict. of Monmouthshire*, p. 144.

Trent on the 16th. Percy had marched towards Shrewsbury, intending to join Glyndwr and Mortimer as related before, of which movement the king was ignorant until he arrived at Burton. Henry was sensible of the importance of such a junction and co-operation of forces; advised by the Earl of Dunbar, a Scottish nobleman, who had espoused his cause, he directed his march towards Shrewsbury, in order, if possible to prevent an union. His expeditious march not only prevented a junction, but saved his crown. Glyndwr, whose headquarters were at Oswestry,* dispatched his first division only, consisting of four thousand men, towards Shrewsbury, who behaved with great spirit in the day of action; the 21st of June.—Owen was prevented from marching with the other divisions; for the king, by a masterly manœuvre, had occupied the country between Oswestry and Shrewsbury, and thereby deprived the northern forces of his co-operation, when they were about to scale the walls. Hotspur, finding himself unsupported, relinquished the attempt; and after rejecting offers of peace, he attacked the royal army at Battlefield, three miles from the place. He behaved with a bravery worthy of his noble house; fell valiantly, and with him the hopes of his party.†

* Oswestry was fortified with a wall by Edward I. but was plundered and burnt by Owen.

† “The altar-tomb in St. Mary’s Church, Shrewsbury, on which is a recumbent figure of a knight in linked armour, cross-legged, with a lion couchant at his feet, was removed from thence into the chancel on Friday se’night. On opening the grave filled with rubbish, and not far below the surface, some leg and thigh bones and a skull were found together, evidently belonging to two grown-up persons and a child; the length of one pair of the thigh bones was nineteen inches, and of the leg bones, fifteen inches; of another, the thigh bones were eighteen inches, and the leg bones fourteen inches. On digging to the bottom, which, as well as the sides of the grave, was a complete piece of masonry, rather more than three feet deep, a toler-

—Richard, Earl of Warwick, “one of the most puissant and valorous nobles of his age, who almost realized the fabulous adventures of Guy, Earl of Warwick, his renowned ancestor,”* gained great honour at this battle.” Mr. Coxe says, that this earl signalized himself at an early age, in suppressing the rebellion of Owen Glyndwr, whose standard he took in open combat; which act of prowess could not have been achieved at the battle of Shrewsbury, as Owen was not personally engaged. The great Douglas, with many English of distinction, and a party of Scots, were made prisoners, but afterwards honourably set at liberty, through the intercession of the Prince of Wales.—Sir Jenkin Hanmer, our hero’s brother-in-law, fell in the battle. Young Percy, whom we have found unsupported when ready to storm and scale the walls of Shrewsbury, has been censured for his rashness in this battle; and of exposing himself to death voluntarily, when he found all his measures fail.†—His adherent and uncle, Thomas, Earl of Worcester, also fell in this action. In *Martin’s Reliquiæ*

rably perfect skeleton was discovered, wrapped up in leather, and singulas to relate, without a head, no appearance of which could be found; the hands were crossed upon the breast, and the leather, considering the time it must have lain there, was very perfect. The coffin, with the exception of some very small fragments adhering to several large nails nearly consumed by rust, had entirely mouldered away. This headless skeleton was five feet three inches long, the thigh bones nineteen inches and a half, and the leg bones sixteen inches. It was not disturbed, and the other bones, which had been taken out for the gratification of the curious, several of whom were soon assembled, were afterwards put in again, and the grave closed up. Various conjectures are hazarded respecting this skeleton, some holding it to be that of *Hotspur*, who was slain in the battle of *Battlefield*; and others, that it belonged to *Roger Leyborne*, who, among the knights of Shropshire, in 1263, took up arms for Henry III. against the faction of the Earl of Leicester.

Saint James’s Chronicle, August 29th, 1816.

* Picture of Monmouthshire, p. 74. † Camden,

Divi Andræ, it is asserted that George Douglas, Earl of Angus, was slain at this battle; the Chronicle of Wales, edited by Wynne, includes him among the prisoners. The most illustrious, who fell on the part of Henry, was Edmund, Earl of Stafford; leaving a son, named Humphrey, then very young, in whom were concentrated the great earldoms of Buckingham, Hereford, Stafford, Northampton, and Perche: he was also Lord of Brecon, Caus, and Holderness, and by Henry VI. was advanced to the Dukedom of Buckingham.* This nobleman's genealogy is the more interesting, as a descendant of this house was concerned in elevating our countryman, Henry VII. to the throne of England.—On the part of Owen also fell Madog Kynaston, of Stocks, whose son, John Kynaston, was pardoned by Henry IV. The powerful family of the Kynastons, of whom were various branches, seated at Stocks, Morton, Walford, Shotton, Bradenheath, Atley, Hordley, Hardwick, Bryngwyn, Trewylan, Lee, Kinnersley, Knockin; Ryton, Llwyn-y-Mapsis and Pant-y-Byrsle, descended from a common ancestor, Sir Gryffydd Vychan, of Caer Hywel, the son of Iorwerth, the son of Maredudd, the son of Bleddyn, the founder of the third *royal tribe*. The family, as descendants of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, from whom we have deduced Glyndwr's descent, naturally sided with him. The first that took the name of Kynaston, was Madog, the father of John, steward of Ellesmere, in the thirteenth of Richard II.

To commemorate a battle, so disastrous to Glyndwr and his noble confederates, and which contributed so much to Henry's fame, and fixed his tottering crown safe on his head, he built a chapel

* Yorks p. 81.

at *Battlefield*, the scene of action, and settled two priests to pray for the souls of the slain. Dire necessity compelled Owen, at the head of *twelve* thousand men, to remain at Oswestry, inactive, during this action, and prevented the brave troops he commanded from sharing in the perilous disasters of the day. He has been censured by the Welsh historians, for his torpor on this trying occasion, a blame which he did not merit. Forbearance was not among his foibles; and the strong position taken by Henry previous to the battle, alone caused this seeming want of zeal and ardour.* Most justly and deservedly has his conduct been reproached for not attacking Henry and his bleeding troops immediately after the battle. His own army fresh and untouched, and the remains of the northern troops, would have mustered a force nearly double to that of the king, yet sore after the victory, overcome with fatigue, hardships, and loss of men; the Earl of Northumberland, now recovered from his illness, a powerful corps de reserve, was in full march towards Shrewsbury; the army of Mortimer, entire and in full spirits, who also unfortunately could not bring his forces to action, but now ready to co-operate with Glyndwr; while that of the king was constrained to march northward, with Northumberland in front and Mortimer and Glyndwr rearward.—Glyndwr taking advantage of the king's absence, carried on a marauding destructive war against the marches, which he desolated by every

* *About a mile and a half* from Shrewsbury, where the Pool road diverges from that which leads to Oswestry, there stands an ancient decayed oak.—There is a tradition, that Glyndwr ascended this tree, to reconnoitre; and finding that the king was in great force, and that the Earl of Northumberland had not joined his son Hotspur, he fell back to Oswestry, and immediately after the battle of Shrewsbury retreated precipitately into Wales.—*Gough's Camden*.

mode of devastation and havoc. The king's visit to the north proved prosperous. The Earl of Northumberland was attainted of high treason, but soon received into seeming favour with the king, who knew his influence, and stood in awe of his power. His patrimony and other property were restored him, the Isle of Man excepted, which Henry reserved in his own hands. The king, returned from his short campaign in the north, determined to make Glyndwr feel the weight of his indignation, and to chastise the insurgents with the utmost severity. The want of money to pay his troops, and provisions to subsist them, obliged him to lower his menacing tone, and grant a short respite for Owen to breathe. However, to extricate himself from the first dilemma, the superfluous wealth of the prelates presented itself as a seizable commodity, and appropriate, as he supposed, to his ambitious designs and vindictive intents; but was defeated of his purpose of peculation by the then Archbishop of Canterbury, who opposed his sacrilegious intention, with a spirit worthy of his high station and important charge. The prelate, notwithstanding, relented, and made a grant of the tenth towards Henry's necessary, just, war.—This year was concluded with fortifying the Welsh castles, and appointing gentlemen of known fidelity wardens and keepers of them. The king's writ for this purpose, was dated at Worcester, the 8th of September, and addressing it to *Guy de Mona*, Bishop of St. David's, at that time keeper of the privy seal, and treasurer of England, enjoined him to garrison his castle of Llawhaden, in the county of Pembroke, and to put it in a perfect state of defence, to resist any attack from Owen, on pain of forfeiting the castle and all the manors and de-

mesnes appartenant.* The castle of Llandovery, in the county of Carmarthen, was committed to the custody of John Touchet, Lord Audley; Laugharne castle to Sir Henry Scrope; Crickhowell to John Paucefoot; Tre tower to James Berkeley; Abergavenny and Harold Ewyas to Sir William Beauchamp; Goodrick to Sir Thomas Nevil de Furnivale; Eidsley to Sir Nicholas Montgomerie; Caerleon and Usk to Sir Edward Charlton of Powys; Caerphilly and Gwyalacy to Constantia Lady Despenser; Maenorbyr to Sir John Cornwall; Payne Castle and Royl to Thomas, Earl of Warwick; Huntyngdon to Anne, Countess of Stafford; Llynhales and Dorston to Sir Walter Fitz-Walter; Stepulton to John Brian, Baron of Burford; Brampton to Brian de Brampton; and to Sir John Chandos was given in charge the castle of Snowdon.

The last public act relating to Owen's adherents, was to empower Henry, Prince of Wales, to treat with certain Cheshire gentlemen about their fines, for appearing in arms at the battle of Shrewsbury.

On the 14th of September, by an instrument dated at Hereford, the king empowers William Beauchamp, to pardon certain of the vassals on his lands of Abergavenny and Ewias Harold, who had appeared in arms on the part of Glyndwr; and by another, dated at Devynoc, the king authorized

* The great baronial Castle of Llawhaden, or *Llan Hwaden*, was the occasional residence of the Bishops of St. David's, and is situated on the banks of the *Est. Cludda*. "*Priwathu sive capella B. Marie Virginis de Lowhaden, archidiacon. Menevensis, unit. fuit cancellaria Ecclesie cathedralis Menevensis per Johannem Episc. Menevens. A. D. 1501.*"—Here was an Hospital founded by Thomas Beke, Bishop of Saint David's, A. D. 1287."—*Turner's Not. Men.*—Rees Pritchard, a native of Llandovery, an eminent Welsh Poet, Chancellor of Saint David's, &c. (to which the Prebend of Llan Hwaden is annexed) resided often at Saint Kenex, near Llan Hwaden.

Sir John Oldcastle,* John ap Henry, and John Fairford, clerk, to pardon the inhabitants of Brecon, Builth, Cancresselly, Hay, Glynbough, and Dynas; to receive their arms; and to oblige them to take the oath of allegiance and fidelity. By these acts the persons of the insurgents were alone protected and secured; their estates, and forfeited goods and chattels, the king reserved in his own power.

The commencement of the year 1404 was employed by Glyndwr in forming an alliance offensive and defensive with Charles VI., King of France. The confusion of his own affairs, fortunately for the usurper Henry IV., had hitherto prevented the French king from revenging his late son-in-law's murder, Richard II. He was necessitated to enter into a truce of thirty years with Henry, yet never could be brought to acknowledge his title to the crown. In his treaties Charles styles him only *notre cousin d' Angleterre*, or Henry of Lancaster, or our adversary of England, or the successor of the late King Richard. Mr. Pennant observes, that there was an appearance of a correspondence between Charles and the English and Welsh in-

* Sir J. Oldcastle. Lord Cobham, was the dissolute companion of Henry V. when Prince of Wales; afterwards a Wickliffite and reformer. He was sacrificed by his youthful companion to an ecclesiastical bribe, condemned, and executed, for heresy and rebellion. Lord Orford observes that "Lord Cobham was the first author, as well as the first martyr, among our nobility: a man, whose virtues made him a reformer; whose valour, a martyr; whose martyrdom, an enthusiast." He was suspended by a chain, fastened round his waist, over a slow fire. The bringing him to the stake was a meritorious affair in those superstitious times; the lordship of Broniarth was granted to the family of *Tonud*, the fifth of Henry V., and other gentlemen enjoyed several privileges from Edward Charleton, Lord Powys, for the assistance they gave in the apprehension of *Oldcastle*; whose son-in-law, Sir John Grey brought him a prisoner to London, and for this service Lord Powys received the thanks of parliament. *Old-Castle*, Lord Cobham's residence, is situated on the slope of the black mountains, in Monmouthshire, near the road to Longtown, and about four miles from Llanthangel. The old castle was pulled

surgents in the last year. The confederacy between Glyndwr, Percy and Mortimer; the powerful expedition towards Shrewsbury; and an invasion of England by the French, were probably concerted measures, to distract and harass Henry. The French fleet hovered over our coast, landed in the Isle of Wight, and did considerable damage in the country. Both countries seemed to be ripening for war, the king's jealousy of the French nation discovered itself in removing all Frenchmen from about his person; and his inveteracy against the Welsh was equally visible, by prohibiting all Welshmen to be of his household. These precautions were highly discreet; as a league, as observed before, offensive and defensive was made between Charles and Glyndwr. The ambassadors chosen by Owen to transact this important affair, were his chancellor Griffith Yonge, doctor of laws, and his kinsman John Hanmer. The instrument appointing them ambassadors is dated from Dolgelley, in a style worthy of a Prince of Wales: Datum apud, Doleguelle, io die mensis Maii, M,CCCC quarto, et Principatus nostri quarto. It begins, Owenus Dei gratia Princeps Walliæ, &c.* The Welsh plenipotentiaries met with a most cordial reception from

down, and a farm-house constructed with the materials.—*Yorke's Royal Tribes, and Picture of Monmouthshire.*

* *Treaty between O. Glyndwr and the King of France.*—In the year 1404, Owen Glyndwr sent Gryffydd Young, LL. B. his chancellor, and John Hanmer, to Charles VI. of France, to treat and conclude a league of amity between him and the King of France. The records of the said treaty and league are extant: the titles and dates of them are thus: "Traicts de alliance faits enter le Roy C. VI. et de Prince de Guales." "Tenor liberatum procurat dicte divine nostri Francorum Regis," &c. The French commissioners were Jaques de Bourbon, Comte de March, and Jean, Bishop of Claremont. Owen's letters of credence to his ambassadors were thus dated: "Dat apud Dolgellau, 10th April, 1404, et Principatus nostri 4to. actum et datum Paris in domo habitationis magnifici viri Ervandi de Corbeyr, milites Cancellarii Franciæ, A. D. 1404. Indicti 13 die 14th

the French king, and the league was signed at Paris on the 14th of June. The persons that acted on the part of Charles, were James Bourbon, the Earl of March, and John Bishop of Carnot. Owen's ambassadors signed their part on the 14th of July, in the house of Ferdinand de Corbey, chancellor of France, in the presence of several prelates and persons of rank, who attended as witnesses. This treaty was ratified by Owen, on the 12th of January, 1405, from his castle of Llanbadarn,* near Aberystwith, in the county of Cardigan.

This grand league and alliance with the French nation, gave our countryman a name among the nations of Europe, which, with the prosperous aspect of his affairs, operated on Trevor, late Bishop of St. Asaph, whose cathedral and palace were demolished in 1402, which compelled his lordship to seek an asylum in England, for whose subsistence Henry was so solicitous as to permit him to hold several benefices, in commendam, during his exile in England. Whatever his motives were, for revolting from Henry; whether actuated by remorse for

Julii presentibus, &c. et Ego Johannes de Sanctis Beluacen. Diocess. apost. et imper. auctoritate publicus Notarius et Secretarius, &c. presens fui, caque fieri vidi et audiui adrequestum de consensu, D. D. procuratorum huic presenti publico instrumento."

* Supposed to be situated on *Glasgrug*, on the banks of the *Rheidol*, to the W. of Llanbadarn-fawr. A square embattled tower still remains perfect, and considerable ruins adjoining, prove it to have been a place of strength, and magnificence. The walls are not so well cemented as the Norman castles. It passes by different names; *Plas Grug*, according to some, and *Ty Cryf*, according to Pennant. — Tradition says, that there is a subterraneous communication between this place and Llanbadarn-fawr, but no person pretends to shew its commencement or termination. This spot was occupied by Gryllydd ap Rhys, in 1116, in his rapid, desolating, progress against the Saxons, who had settled in this county. During his encampment at Glasgrug, he refreshed his army with the cattle feeding contiguous to the sanctuary of Llanbadarn, which injured his reputation greatly, being held sacred in that age of superstition. — *Warrington's Hist. of Wales*,

his ungrateful conduct towards his unfortunate master, Richard II., or tempted by the prospect of preferment under a new dynasty, is uncertain: Glyndwr, however, on his return to fidelity, was graciously pleased to reinstate and confirm him in his see; whose fortunes he followed to the year 1409, when Owen's affairs declined rapidly and ruinously.

Owen opened the campaign of this year with great spirit and vigour, by desolating the country of his enemies. Several castles were taken; some of which he dismantled, and others he reserved and garrisoned. Among the castles taken at this time, was the noble and almost impregnable fortress of Harlech, in the county of Merioneth, erected by Edward I., on a very high rock, projecting into the Irish sea; and on the land side protected by a deep fosse. Its history is short, but interesting: it is supposed to have been a Roman station; coins and an ancient golden torques having been found hereabout.—It was once called *Caer Colwyn* (but originally *Twr Bronwen*), from *Collwyn ap Tango*, who lived here in the time of Prince Anarawd, about the year 877; and was lord of *Ardudwy* and *Eivionydd*, and some part of *Llyn*; but prior to that, it is recorded to have been built by *Maelgwyn Gwynedd*, as early as the year 552. *Davydd ap Shenkin ap Einon*, a partizan of the house of Lancaster, resolutely defended it against Edward IV.; but William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, surpassing every difficulty in his alpine march, came to Edward's aid, stormed it, and effected its surrender.* The other castle, of equal note, taken in this campaign, was *Aberystwith*, in the county of *Cardigan*.—This fortress had been taken by the Prince of Wales; in

* Camden and Carlisle.

whose possession it did not remain long. Two such powerful rivals could not reside so near each other, as Llanbadarn and Aberystwith. At this juncture, it was the lot of young Henry, to make way, and surrender this important castle to one, who styled himself also Prince of Wales; and claimed, as descendant and heir of the princes thereof. Upon its surrender to Owen, it was garrisoned strongly with approved Welshmen, and retained for about four years. The acquisition of this fortress, strong by nature and art; eminent once as the palace of Cadwalader, the last king of the Britons, was valuable. To have its history through all the vicissitudes and revolutions it experienced, might be amusing to the antiquary, but of little benefit to the general reader.* The present fragments are the ruins of the celebrated fortress erected by Edward I.; for the defence of his newly acquired territory, the principality of Wales.

Glyndwr, after the taking of these castles, marched into Montgomeryshire, and there, unexpectedly as we may suppose, fell in with an English army, commanded by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, at Mynydd Cwmdû. The English attacked him, slew many of his men, and obliged him to retreat. It must have been at this battle, that the Earl of Warwick took Owen's banner, as related by the English historians.—Glyndwr soon repaired this disgrace, rallying his forces, he renewed the attack, (after an expeditious pursuit) at a place called Craig-y-Dorth, near Monmouth; defeated the royal troops, and pursued the fugitives to the

* An extensive account of Aberystwith castle is inserted in Carisle's Top. Dictionary.

Aberystwith castle was built in the form of an irregular pentagon, and double walled.

gates of Monmouth, and every other town or castle, they sought an asylum in. *Craig-y-Dorth*, memorable for this victory, is on the road between Chepstow and Monmouth, at a small distance from Treleg common, on an eminence to the left.—Henry passed this year without a single enterprize against Glyndwr.—The last rencontre originated with the Earl of Warwick, who had mustered his vassals for the protection and preservation of his extensive domains in these parts, the castle and barony of Abergavenny in particular, which Owen had burnt in the year 1402.—It has been observed, that from the conquest to the death of Amrose Dudley; (in the time of Queen Elizabeth) there was scarcely any one considerable scene of action, wherein the Earl of Warwick made not a great figure. The prowess inherent in the family has, with great propriety, been said to be derived from the famous *Guy*, that echo of England, of whose feats such romantic stories are related.*—This Richard, Earl of Warwick, the most puissant and valorous nobleman of his age, gave many instances of military skill and intrepidity, particularly in France, being the constant friend and companion in arms of Henry V., from whom he received various tokens of favour, and was appointed guardian of his infant son, an honour which argued the great confidence he had in his fidelity and abilities. He attended the English prelates to the council of Constance, with a retinue of 800 horse, received uncommon marks of approbation from the Emperor Sigismund and his consort. Besides a distinguished warrior, he was also a great traveller. After visiting the continent, he made a pilgrimage to Palestine, where his

* Camden in Warwickshire.

descent from Guy, Earl of Warwick, was a sufficient passport, whose fabled history suited the eastern taste. In feats of chivalry he was surpassed by none. He died at Rouen in Normandy, in the year 1439, bearing the high office of Regent of France.*

The sword, coat of mail, and other accoutrements of the Great Guy, are still preserved in Warwick castle; and a suit of tapestry, wherein are wrought his heroic acts. Upon the banks of the Avon stands *Guy's Cliff*, where, traditional fame tells that this celebrated hero, after he had terminated his martial achievements, built a chapel, and led a hermit's life, and was at last buried. Others, less given to romance, assert that the place took its name from Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who lived much later. The truth seems to be, as Camden observes, that Richard de Beauchamp (whose valour we have just now mentioned) built and dedicated here, a chapel to St. Margaret, and erected the giant, or colossus-like statue of the famous Guy, eight feet high, still remaining. A descendant of the same name, dedicated to his memory a tower, the walls thereof ten feet thick; the circumference 126 feet, and the height, 113 feet. Such veneration was his remembrance held in by his descendants.

* Pict. of Monmouthshire.

CHAP. VIII.

An Attempt to liberate the young Earl of March and his brother. Glyndwr defeated in two actions.—In great distress. Troops arrive from France. Siege of Lampeter-Pont-Stephen.—Year 1406.

HENRY, with the vigilance of an usurper, kept the Earl of March and his brother in close confinement, in Windsor Castle. Sensible of the young earl's superior title to the throne, and jealous of the power of that house, no care was omitted to secure him with proper guards. His enlargement was desired by all parties, in order to set him up against Henry. Wales was to have been his asylum,—Glyndwr his protector. Notwithstanding the difficulty, nay, seeming impossibility, of the attempt, his rescue was resolved upon. Owen, like a wary politician, kept up a correspondence with the disaffected about court, and had deep intelligence of what passed there. The merit of their deliverance was due solely to Constance, Lady Spencer, widow of Lord Spencer, and sister of the Duke of York. We found this lady, in the year 1403, well affected to the usurper's cause; and the castles of Caerphilly and Gwialacy consigned to her charge. Having altered her sentiments, and laid aside the inflexibility peculiar to female politicians, we find her now, in the true spirit of knight-errantry, attempting the rescue of two unfortunate nobles from the fangs of a monster. To accomplish her meritorious purpose, she procured false keys, stole away the youths, and was triumphantly bearing away her illustrious charge toward the principality of Wales, whom Glyndwr and Sir Edmund Mortimer were ready to receive with open arms, when, alas! she

■

was overtaken, the unhappy youths seized and brought back, to endure a stricter confinement, and harsher usage. Though many were engaged in the design and attempt, none suffered besides Lady Constantia, who was imprisoned for her gallantry and chivalry, and the poor smith that made the keys, who was beheaded, after having both his hands chopped off.—The failure of an affair of such magnitude contributed in no small degree to discourage the insurgents, and damp the ardour of March's disappointed vassals in particular. Their feelings had been wrought up to a high pitch of hopeful expectancy, which vanished into air.

Glyndwr, whom fortune thus far had favoured, and whose measures success had attended, was soon to experience her mutability, and bear her frowning brow. An army of 8000 men, warmly attached to Owen's cause, had assembled out of Glamorganshire, Usk, Netherwent, and Overwent. These, agreeable to the mode of warfare, then pursued, began their march by desolating the country, and ravaging the marches. They burnt part of the town of Grosmont, in Monmouthshire. The castle, to the south-east of the village, on an eminence near the Munnow, by a grant of King John, belonged to the Breoses, but afterwards to Hubert de Burgh, who, *to calm a court-tempest of envy*, resigned it with three others to Edward III. Grosmont was once a considerable place, and is still governed by a mayor and burgesses. It never recovered its former importance after this visit. Streets may be traced, and large causeways, diverging in different directions, raised to the height of several feet, and from nine to twelve feet broad, prove it to have been a place of some eminence.* This marauding

* Camden and Picture of Monmouthshire.

division was opposed by a handful of men, commanded by Sir Gilbert Talbot, joined by Sir William Newport and Sir John Greindre, on the 11th of March, and cut to pieces, no quarter being given, except to one person, whom, young Henry, in his dispatch to his father, stiles, *un grant chieftyn entre eulx*, he most humanely tells his father, that he would have sent this prisoner to him, but that he could not ride with ease. Prince Henry at the time of this action was at Hereford, with the army entrusted to him by his father, ready to open the campaign, when he received the news of this victory.—The Welsh lost near a thousand men in this conflict. The Ancient Britons, in this battle, did not act up to the valour inherent in their nation. They were probably raw recruits, without either good officers or discipline, and particularly without Glyndwr's presence to animate them, which caused them to fall so easy a prey to the enemy, and suffer so greatly in the number slain.—The interception of young March, and this defeat, were circumstances that militated greatly against Owen's cause. However, we find him instantly bent to repair the disaster, by sending one of his sons with another army, to which the fugitives, from the late action, probably flocked; and thus reinforced, another battle was risked on the 15th of the same month, at Mynydd-y-Pwll-Melyn, in Brecknockshire, equally fatal to the cause of Owen. Fifteen hundred of his men were slain or taken prisoners; among the last was his son; among the first his brother Tudor. He resembled, it seems, our hero so much, that the English exulted, and proclaimed his death: but on examining the body, it was found to be that of Tudor; as it wanted a wart over the eye, which distinguished Owen from his

brother: Young Henry, according to Carte, commanded at this battle. Wynne also mentions an action which took place on the same day of the month, in which Glyndwr's son was made prisoner, and the number of slain and prisoners coincide with the above account of Mr Pennant; but the scene of action is removed to Uske, in the county of Monmouth, where he says the Welsh received a sad blow from the Prince of Wales's men. There is a confusion in the history of this period, which Mr. Pennant clears up thus:—Holinshead mentions another defeat sustained by the Welsh in the month of May, in which Griffith Yonge, Owen's chancellor, was made prisoner. "I suspect," says P. "that the historian confounds this action with the action near Grosmont." If Yonge was the great chieftain there made prisoner, which is questionable, he must have escaped soon from the power of the English, or have been released (which we cannot credit); as he is a witness, the next year, to a pardon granted by Owen to one Ieuan Goch. Might not Wynne's and Holinshead's accounts be reconcileable, by allowing a battle was fought at Uske, subsequent to that on the 15th of March." Dates among early writers are uncertain, always perplexing. Uske, likewise, in many parts, bears evident marks of Glyndwr's desolating system of warfare: a ruinous aspect bespeaks its having been stormed by an enemy at no distant date, and the tradition of the place corroborates the surmise, which attributes the havoc to Owen's hostilities.

These repeated disastrous defeats alienated many of his adherents from Owen's now declining cause. All Glamorganshire, a few friends excepted, submitted to the usurper.—Some, supposing that Owen was slain, surrendered; but on finding the report

of his death untrue, many joined him again. The Irish this year made a descent upon Wales, and committed great ravages.—It seems as if they acted in concert with the English, and were encouraged to harass the Welsh, while their fortune was at a low ebb. In this expedition, the people of Dublin carried away the shrine of *Saint Cubie*,* from the island of Holyhead, to the church of the Holy Trinity, in Dublin.†

A distressing scene now unfolds itself:—the sad reverse of fortune experienced by Owen. This afflictive period, in which he endured such privations and hardships, and are ascribed by the English historians to the latter part of his life, happened after the last related defeats. His sufferings, poignant and severe, have been greatly exaggerated by his enemies. Deserted by his friends, he sought an asylum among a few trusty adherents, who could not always, through a fear of discovery, afford him that protection they wished. The apprehensions that he would injure his friends, who concealed and cherished him, obliged him often to seek a temporary refuge in caves and deserts. A deep

* "Saint Kebius, who flourished about A. D. 390, founded a small monastery here, and in aftertimes there was founded in the royal free chapel, in the castle of this place, a college of prebendaries, whose yearly revenues were valued 26th Henry VIII., at £24, as both Dugdale and Speed. This college was granted seventh James I., to Francis Morris and Francis Phillips."—*Tanner's Not. Mon.* Camden makes Saint Cubie a disciple of Saint Hilary of Poitiers. "There is the following inscription in Gothic characters on the north side of the church: *Sancte Kybi ora pro nobis*. The church-yard wall is considered a very perfect specimen of Roman architecture."—*Carlisle*. "The island is of unequal breadth, and greatly indented. The part of the head fronting the sea, is either an immense precipice, or hollowed into most magnificent caves. The great tithes belong to Jesus College, Oxford; bestowed by R. Gwynne, esq. for the maintenance of two fellows and as many scholars."—*Pennant*,

† *Annals of Ireland in Camden.*

hollow, on the side of Moel Hebog, near Beddgelert, afforded him a shelter for some time. A cavern, near the sea-side, in the parish of Llangelynin, in the county of Merioneth, is still called Ogoſ Owen, in which place he was secretly supported by Ednyfed ap Aaron, of the tribe of Ednowain ap Bradwen. His disconsolate bard, *Iolo Goch*, regrets his absence, and implores his return.—He calls him home, in plaintive notes, from all parts of the world, to head his valiant countrymen, and re-instate himself in the sovereignty of Wales. He supposes him in one place, (after the example of Cadwaladr we may presume) to have gone to Rome, and entreats his return laden with tokens from Saint Peter.

The Earl of Northumberland, about this time, lapsed from his loyalty to Henry, formed another conspiracy, but was detected. Several of his adherents were executed; among whom we find Sir John Griffith, a Welsh knight. This renders it probable that Percy and Glyndwr were no strangers to each other's measures and movements, but acted in concert and harmony. A fatality, however, as usual, attended the confederacy, the plot was discovered by the jealous usurper, and nipped in the bud; the earl's castles were seized, and he obliged to fly into Scotland for protection. As the bishops of St. Asaph and Bangor were companions to the Earl of Northumberland in his flight, we may conclude that they were placed, by Glyndwr, about Percy, to settle upon the most approved method of advancing their interest and promoting the furtherance of their common cause, so as to dethrone the usurper, and to place the rightful heir, the Earl of March, upon the throne. The Abbot of Welbeck exiled himself with the noble earl likewise. After

suppressing this conspiracy, Henry marched into Wales with an army of 37,000 men; a number sufficiently numerous to annihilate the Welsh, already culled and slaughtered to such a degree by endeavouring to cope with a nation so vast in its resources as England was. Notwithstanding his mighty army, *Owen's magic still prevailed*. The weather proved so tempestuous, that nothing but a rapid and shameful retreat was the only alternative: retreat he did, with the loss of fifty of his carriages. Shakespear, even before the battle of Shrewsbury, represents Glyndwr, (ostentatiously vain of his success and Henry's repeated defeats) boasting by affirming:

Three times hath Henry Bolingbroke made head
Against my pow'r; thrice from the Banks of Wye,
And sandy bottom'd Severn, have I sent
Him bootless home, and weather-beaten back.

Though Henry's expeditions against Owen proved ineffectual, and his retreats dishonourable, considered in a military point of view, our hero's enterprizes as well as sufferings, would have terminated at this period, but for the following succour: a supply of troops seasonably sent to his aid by his friend and ally Charles VI., enabled him to protract the contest for some time longer. An armament of great magnitude was formed by the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, during Charles's insanity, with the intention of invading England last year; and, according to Rapin, with a view to act jointly with an insurrection raised by Scrope, Archbishop of York, and other noblemen in the north. Their attempt proved fatal to them.

The fleet now sent to Glyndwr's assistance consisted of 140 sail, with an army of 12,000 men. The ships sailed from Brest the latter end of June,

and had on board (according to *Mademoiselle de Lussan*, the historian of this reign) among the troops already mentioned, 800 men at arms, 600 cross bows, and 1200 foot soldiers, all chosen troops. The fleet was under the command of *Renaud de Trie*, Lord of *Serifontaine*, Admiral of France; the troops under that of *Jean de Rieux*, Lord of *Rieux* and *Rochfort*, Marshal of France. Under him served *Jean*, or as *Morœri* calls him, *Aubert de Hangest Sire de Hugueville*, master of the cross bows; who, in fact, was the acting general, as *Rieux* was precluded from the honour through age and infirmities. The national pride, parade and shew, inherent in the French, distinguished itself in this expedition. The officers made a most brilliant appearance; and *Hugueville* is said to have sold to the church of *Paris* his fine estate of *Agencourt*, near *Mondidier*, in order to provide himself, suitable to his dignity, with a magnificent equipage.

The fleet experienced fair weather and a prosperous passage. Through a neglect of laying in a sufficient supply of fresh water, most of the horses perished. The troops landed in *Milford Haven*, under the command of *Hugueville*, and immediately sat down before *Haverfordwest*. That town was garrisoned for *Henry*, commanded by the Earl of *Arundel*, who so ably and gallantly defended the place, that the French raised the siege. They, however, before they abandoned the enterprize, set fire to the town and suburbs.*—Here we are again under the necessity of arraigning *Owen's* conduct, for not keeping up a communication with his allies, so as to be ready immediately on their disembarka-

* *Fenton's Pembrokeshire.*

tion, to join them. A neglect of the same nature proved fatal to Hotspur at Shrewsbury, and to the cause in general. - *There* we have endeavoured to excriminate our hero; but *here*, no excuse, but that a fatality now attended his motions, offers itself. He reached Tenby with ten thousand men; but, not until the French had abandoned the siege of Haverfordwest, of which disaster he was apprized on his arrival at Tenby.—The French were awed from making any attempt on Pembroke, by the formidable and strong appearance of the castle, standing boldly in front of the town, and menacing the invader with instant destruction. This impregnable fortress was governed by *Francis at Court*, commonly called Lord of Pembroke, a courtier of that time in great favour: but whom we shall find, at the close of the year, compelled to enter into a truce with Glyndwr, of which a document is still extant.*—The French, after a considerable loss be-

* *Sir Francis at Court's* commission respecting a truce with Owen Glyndwr:—

Franciscus de Court Chevalier Dominus de Pembroke Willelmo Picton, Henrico Malefant et Thomæ Perrot* salutem. Cum nuper sic accepimus propter pertinaciam et justum metum Oweni Glyndwrwy et aliorum inimicorum et rebellium Dom. nostri regis dicto Oweno, in rebellionem sua infideliter adherentium in grani devastationem crudelitate comminantium. Comitatus comitatus dicti nostri videntes se crudelitate et malitiæ dicti inimicoru. et rebellium resistere non posse sperantesq. in Dei misericordia per potentiam dicti. Dom. regis auxilium evenire redimentes ad tempus malitiam protervæ suæ, finemq. fecerunt cum eo pro treugis habendis usque ad festum Apost. Phil. & Jacobi proximi futuri, pro ducentis lib. argenti sibi persolvendis. Quare precipimus vobis et utrisque vestrum quod distringere faciatis omnes et singular tenentes et residentes infra vinicetum de Carewe per omnia bona et catalla sua ad contributionem dict. redemptionis faciend. et persolvend. et redemptionem suam predict. per comitates com. nostri predict. eis impositam seu imponendam (viz.) pro qualibet fædo militis quatuor solidos; et pro rectoria Stæ. Mariæ de Carewe 4 lib. 13. sol. et 4d. Rectoria de Sti. Egidii de Picton, 3 sol. Rect. Eccles. de Laurennys, 26s. & Id. Rectoria

* Perrot lived at Carew Castle; Malefant at Upton Castle; and Picton at Picton Castle.

fore Haverfordwest, marched for Tenby, with ravaging steps, desolating every place with fire and sword. Glyndwr, now joined by his allies at Tenby, after the necessary preparations, marched for Carmarthenshire, besieged the chief town, and took it by capitulation.* Liberty was granted to the

de Coedkenles, 6s. & 8d. Rect. de Martletwy, 20s. Rect. de Mywerē, 13s. & 4d. Rectoria de Jerbeston, 13s. 4d. Rect. de Loveston, 13s. 4d. Reinaston, 13s. 4d. Bigelly, 20s. 4d. Jeffreyston, 13s. 4d. Gomfreyston, 20s. pro salvatione personarum terrarum tenentium et bonorum suorum tam temporalium quam spiritualium nuper facta solvere recusantes, nisi ille qui habuit redemptionem suam predict. aibi impositam.——erga diem Dominicam proximam post festum Scti. Clementis Papæ prox. fut; vobis seu vestris deputatis persolvend. Damus insuper vobis et cuilibet vestrom Coin & Dein et vestris deputatis in vicineto predict. per vos factis et faciend. tenore presentium firmiter.——quod si contingat aliquem dictorum tenentium et residentium infra vicinetum predict. in solutionem pecuniæ redemptionis suæ predict. sibi impositæ die dominica predict. deficere, extunc appreciare faciatis districtionem sic per vos captas, et ad valorum redemptionis predict. vendere et summam pecuniæ sic impositæ de districtionibus levatis in ea parte *Stephano Perotto* et *Johanni Castle-martin* receptoribus dict. pecuniæ per comitatem predict. ordinatis persolvere, curitis sine mora. Recipientes omnibus Ballivis Ministris et subditis nostris quibuscunque quod in executione premissorum vobis et cuilibet vestrum seu vestris in ea parte deputatis intendentes sint obientes, auxiliantes et plenius *rondentes* prout decet. Et præmissa facere sub pæna centum libarum nobis salvendar; nulla tenus omittatis. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras sigillo cancellariæ nostræ consignatas nobis et cuilibet vestrum ac vestris in hac parte deputatis fieri fecimus patentes. Dat. apud Pemb. 14 die Novembris, anno regni reg. Henrici 4ti. post conquestum 7mo.

Fenton's History of Pembrokeshire.

* The historical collector of these sheets has presumed, contrary to Mr. Pennant's account, to relate the route of the Frepoh army, as besieging Haverfordwest immediately on landing, marching thence to Tenby, and joined by Glyndwr, and on to Carmarthen, and through Glamorganshire to Worcester. Whereas P. says, that they immediately marched to Carmarthen, &c. declined any attempt on Pembroke, but sat down before Haverfordwest, &c.; that Glyndwr had by this time reached Tenby, where he was joined by Hugueville, &c. and marched through Glamorganshire to Worcester. The first march seems the most direct and less inverted; and it cannot be supposed that they overlooked Haverfordwest and marched to Carmarthen, and again back to Tenby to join Glyndwr, as it was easier for him to follow them to Carmarthen. However, if Mr. Pennant's

garrison to depart, and their baggage with them. Carmarthen, so defended with a strong castle and walls, was either badly garrisoned or weakly protected; else it might have held out a long time, and made equal resistance with Haverfordwest. The town and garrison were well affected to Glyndwr, to which its easy surrender may be ascribed. From hence the combined army marched through Glamorganshire into Worcester, burnt the suburbs, and desolated the country round. As soon as Henry heard of the French expedition, and their intention of invading his dominions, he issued a proclamation from Westminster, dated 2d of July, ordering the lieutenants of several counties to raise forces to prevent a landing, if possible, or to give them a warm reception into his territories. Lord Berkeley, and Henry Pay, admiral of the Cinqueports, commanded at sea, and burnt, according to our histories, fifteen of the French ships lying at anchor in Milford Haven; these admirals afterwards, joined by Sir Thomas Swinborn, took fourteen more ships on their passage to Wales, laden with ammunition and provisions for the army.—Mademoiselle de Lussan takes notice of burning the ships; and most ingenuously, and with a liberality rare and uncommon to her nation, confesses, that her countrymen were so terrified at the appearance of thirty sail of English ships, that *they themselves* directed them to be burnt.

In the beginning of August, Henry was informed that the French had landed in Milford Haven;

route be allowed, in preference to the other, the combined army most probably took shipping at Tenby, and sailed to Glamorganshire. The author has almost implicitly followed Mr. Pennant's account, which is very accurate, clear and comprehensive, this instance only excepted.

upon which he issues another mandate from Pontefract, dated August 7th, to the lieutenant of Herefordshire, to raise his forces immediately, and repair to the city of Hereford. In this proclamation, Henry calls the French general, Lord of Hugueville; against whom he marched in person. Hugueville, after plundering and ravaging the country, retreated suddenly, and took an advantageous post on a high hill about three leagues from Worcester; a deep vale interposing between his and the royal troops. Each strove to bring his opponent to commence the attack, but without effect. From their manœuvres for eight days, braving and defying each other in order of battle, continuing so from morn 'till eve, it appears that the passion of fear predominated; neither venturing to risque their present advantageous situation, nor hazard a retreat. However, during this menacing posture, several warm skirmishes occurred. The loss on both sides was about 200, besides many wounded. On the part of the French were slain, Patrouillart de Trie, Lord of Mouci and Plessis, chamberlain to the king, and brother to the admiral; an officer of much valour, and greatly regretted by the army: also Lord de Martelonne, and the Lord of La Valle; and, according to Hall, a bastard of Bourbon.— Their loss, as usual, is exaggerated by the English historians, asserting that 500 other gentlemen fell; whereas Monstrelet says, that on a review of the French troops, after their return, only sixty were found missing. A mean, perhaps, between the two numbers, may be near the truth. Owen's camp, is supposed to have occupied a portion of Wobury hill, (near twenty-seven acres in the area) in the parish of Whittley, nine miles from Worcester, to the south-west. It had been probably an ancient Bri-

fish hill fortress,* chosen by Owen for its advantageous situation, its strength, and its contiguity to the borders; whereby he was enabled to receive succours from the principality, and in case of a defeat, to retreat among the natural fastnesses of his native mountains. From this post, worn out with fatigue and famine, Owen and his allies decamped in the night of the 8th day, with the utmost secrecy, and retired into Wales. Henry must have rendered their situation untenable, by cutting off the means of every supply. *Monstrelet* makes Henry retreat first, and return to Worcester the same night; asserting that the French attacked him in his retreat: and took eighteen waggons loaded with provisions.—Hall, on the contrary, says, that Henry “chased the enemy from hilles to dales, from dales to woddes, from woddes to marishes, and yet could never have

* Mr. King, in his *Munimenta Antiqua*, supposes that most of the strong entrenchments on the summits of natural hills must be attributed to the Britons, although subsequent conquerors might have occupied them. They are designated, indiscriminately, *Roman Camps*, *Danish Forte*, or *Saxon Intrenchments*; but often erroneously. The Roman camps were *quadrangular*, divided into a pavilion for the general and chief officers, and another partition for the tents of the common soldiers. It was fortified with a ditch and parapet, termed *Fossa* and *Vallum*.—The Danes did not undergo the labour of erecting them on the high hills they are often found, nor run the risque of being cooped up and starved in them, during their invasion; nor can we suppose them to be their work after they settled here as conquerors; the great castle of *Norwich*, built by Canute, and the great tower at *Bury*, prove their civilization and skill in architecture.—Neither could they be Saxon. During the Heptarchy, they erected fortresses of stones. Besides, their *earthworks* were encampments on plain ground with *double ditches*, and with either the whole, or part of the area raised above the level of the adjacent country, and sometimes with a very small mount for a *watchguard*. The magnificence of the Norman castles, still remaining splendid in ruins! will not allow them to have had any share in throwing up these rude entrenchments. They must, therefore, have been the strong-holds of the ancient Britons: where their families were lodged, and their cattle driven on any emergency or invasion.—Vide *King's Munimenta Antiqua*; *Kennel's Roman Antiquities*; *Tacitus*; and *Vegetius de re Militari*.

them to any advantage. A worlde it was to see his quotidianns removing, his paynfull and busy wandering, his troublesome and uncertayne abiding, his continual mocion, his daily peregrinacion in the desert felles and craggy mountains of that barreine, unfertile, and *depopulate* country."

Henry finding a pursuit unavailing through a country purposely despoiled with a view to distress the pursuers, returned to Worcester. Here Hall acknowledges, that in his retreat, he lost "certayn cariges laden with vitayle, to his great displeasure, and to the great comforte of the Welsh."—The Scots and Welsh kept Henry on the alert at this time. Mr. Pennant gives a journal of his motions, which prove equally his strength of body and activity of mind, and asks, when he had leisure for so long and tedious a campaign? for I find him, he says, the 22nd of August, at Pontefract; the 27th at Worcester; and the fourth of September, at Hereford. In four days from that time, it appears he was at Foxflete; at Beverly, on the 13th of the same month; at Bishopthorp, in the same county, from the 16th to the 21st; the next day at Cawood. The next place, after an unaccounted gap of time, we find him at, is Worcester, on the sixth of October, ready to march against Glyndwr, or at least to follow him into Wales.—All the forces raised to act against the Welsh were ready at the above date; but most unaccountably, as on other similar intended campaigns, a sudden stop is put to his formidable preparations; a cessation of operations ensues: the consequence is, an inglorious retreat, without striking a blow, attributed to the approach of winter, rendering a hibernal campaign among the Welsh alps, both unpleasant and unsafe.—After a conviction of the impossibility of ad-

vancing into Wales at so late a season, we find him at Dunstable, on his road to London, on the third of November, and at Westminster soon after: where we shall leave him to muse on his fatiguing campaign, which brought him neither fame nor quiet; and enquire what happened to the French troops, after their retirement into Wales.

Glyndwr, after their precipitate nocturnal retreat from Wobury camp, which, by the bye, reflected no great honour on *his* courage, nor *that* of his magnanimous leaguers, placed the French in quarters, where they abode, 'till Owen procured them transports to convey them to France. Not being able to furnish a sufficient number of vessels, fifteen hundred remained in Wales 'till the March following, when they were fetched home by a person styled by de Lussan, *Le Bague de Volay*.—Thus terminated an affair, which augured great additional lustre to our hero's arms, but vanished in *gasconade*, mist, and vapour.—It seemed a maxim with Owen not to risque a general engagement: a plan of warfare approved of by his allies, else they would have made an heroic attack when stationed so long in the vicinity of Worcester, when Henry's temporizing conduct evidenced an inward dread to be the assailant or invader.

Henry, Prince of Wales, after the memorable defeat at Mynydd-y-Pwll-Melyn, on the 15th of March last, in which Owen's son, Griffith, was made prisoner, and Tudor, Owen's brother, slain; was engaged in the siege of Llanbeder (Lampeter) castle, in the county of Cardigan. The governor placed there by Glyndwr, after sustaining a tedious siege, and many vigorous assaults, consented to surrender it, in case he received no succours before the 24th of October, or the feast of All Saints. It

was stipulated, that the governor should deliver it up in good order; should not injure the habitations in the town:* that he should have free pardon, and liberty, at the end of the term to depart with all his effects, and the baggage and effects appertaining to his friends. Among the instruments of war contracted to be given up, are mentioned *canones Anglice gunnes*; which had been invented by the French about 26 years before. The governor, Rees ap Gryffydd ap Shenkyn, alias Rees ap Llewelyn, most solemnly engaged to abide by the stipulation, by taking the sacrament, and giving up hostages, in testimony of his sincerity, and intention of abiding by it. This governor might have relied on speedy succours, either from the French or Glyndwr himself. Of this Henry was apprehensive, and issued a writ, dated from *Cawood*, the 22d of September, to the lieutenants of Devonshire, and of other counties, to muster their forces, and to rendezvous at Evesham, on the 10th of October. This edict, and consequent preparations,

* Mr. Pennant here adds, "nor seize any ships that should be driven into the port by distress of weather."—*Llanbedr-Pont-Stephen* is so far from being a port town, that the river Tivy is not navigable for a coracle at this place. Indeed, a blundering fatality seems to attend this pleasant little town: it is a borough, and in conjunction with Cardigan and Aberystwith, sends one member to parliament, and is governed by a PORTRIEVE, an uncommon officer for an inland town! Notwithstanding this bull, it boasts great antiquity, deriving its original celebrity from King *Stephen*. It was fortified with two castles; supplied with two churches, *Saint Peter* and *Saint Thomas*; a priory; but not mentioned either by Dugdale, Speed, or Turner. The ruined mansions of Millfield and Peterwell, in the vicinity of Lampeter, are lamentable monuments of Pritchard of Llandovery's imprecation on the former of those houses; which passed afterwards to the Lloyds of Peterwell.

Some of the lords of Lampeter were, Rhys Dafydd Thomas; Jenkin Dafydd Llwyd; and Gryffydd Thomas ap Gryffydd.—Among Baldwin's retinue, were also John of Alba Domus, and Syallus of Strata Florida, when he preached the Crusade in this church.

prevented any succours from being thrown in, and obliged the sturdy governor, though reluctantly, to agree to the terms proposed. His intention, though, in the sequel, proved insincere; for no sooner was Prince Henry departed, than Rees permitted Glyndwr to expel both *governor* and *garrison*, alledging that they had been guilty of treason, in submitting without their chieftain's consent and permission.

Lord Coitie was at this time besieged in the castle of Coitie (Coed-dû), seated on the banks of the river Ogmore, in the county of Glamorgan. This castle and barony, in the partition of Glamorgan between Fitzhammon's peers, fell to the lot of Paine Turberville. It passed afterwards to the Gamages; and by marriage to Sir Robert Sidney, Viscount Lisle. Henry was solicitous in no great degree for the fate of this lord, or the investment of his castle; but the lords spiritual and temporal, as well as commons, shewed much concern, and offered a loan, for the purpose of raising forces for his rescue. Henry's apathy towards this sufferer in his cause, militates much against his character. We have found him already equally unfeeling with respect to Sir Edmund Mortimer's release. A loan, notwithstanding the king's unconcern about his loyal subjects, was raised, and it was agreed by the king and parliament, that these loans should be repaid out of the first payments of the subsidy at that time granted.

CHAP. IX.

A Reinforcement is sent from France.—Defection of the Inhabitants of Ystrad Towy.—Castles of Aberystwith and Harlech, retaken.—Howel Gwynedd beheaded.—Years 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, and 1412.—Dateless Events.

THE historian, henceforward, has to relate the sad reverse of fortune that attended our hero: the defection of allies, and the revolt of friends. The discomfiture lately connected with all his measures and operations caused a sudden change in the prospect of his affairs, which we shall witness declining, though gradually, yet fatally, in the remaining period of this narration. He had strength to keep up a marauding desultory warfare; to issue occasionally from his mountainous lurking strong-holds, but not sufficiently to attempt any enterprize worthy of his great fame. The French, evidently wearied of their ally, and of transporting troops, which did them no credit, still kept up the appearance of amity, more for their own interest, than from a sincerity to their ally, or earnestness in his cause. — They sent this year a fleet of 38 sail; eight of which, laden with men at arms, were taken; the remainder escaped in great confusion, and reached a port in Wales. This supply must have been seasonable, however inadequate to Owen's expectation or the exigency of his affairs. To add to his disappointment, the inhabitants of Ystrad Towy, in the county of Carmarthen, revolted; a tract inhabited by the descendants of the princes of South Wales, very populous, and extremely warlike. The magnanimous and active Prince Henry of Monmouth, at the express request of parliament, resi-

ded at this time in some part of Wales, whose youthful valour was a terror to the Welsh, and a check to Owen's incursions—Parliament also, sensible of the absurdity of too early a grant of the estates forfeited by the Welsh insurgents, entered on record, that no heritages conquered from the Welsh, be given away till one quarter of a year after.—The Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Bardolf, now exchanged their asylum. Suspecting the Scots, to whose protection they flew last year, intended to exchange them for certain prisoners with Henry, escaped the perfidious intention, and entrusted their persons to their old faithful ally, Owen Glyndwr, who afforded them all the hospitality then in his power. These great personages were warned of the perfidiousness of the Scots, by Sir David Fleming, of Cumberland, whose life was forfeited by this beneficent act.—Henry makes a grant, this year, in fee to Sir John Tibetot, speaker of the house of commons, and father to the accomplished peer, John, Earl of Worcester, of the estates of Richard ap* Gryffydd ap Vychan, in the counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan, forfeited for his adherence to Glyndwr.

To keep up the form, at least, of regality, Owen also, about this time, pardons John ap Howel ap Ieuan Goch; *anno Principatus nostri 6mo. Datum at*

* The author continues to write *ap*, instead of *ab*, in conformity to long established, corrupted, custom. He is sensible that *ap* arose from the harsh pronunciation of *ab*, by a Welsh jaw; it is variously deduced, either from *mab* a son, or the preposition, *ab*, from. *Ap* is now obsolete (a few ancient old-fashioned people excepted) and has sunk gradually into many surnames; as Parry, for *ap* Harry; Bowen, for *ap* or *ab* Owen; Popkin, for *ap* Hopkin; Probert for *ap* Robert; and Proger, for *ap* Roger, &c. In ancient British M.S.S. the appellation of *mac*, instead of *mab*, is often found; now lost in Wales, but preserved in the kindred dialects of Scotland and Ireland; and similarly with the Welsh *ap*, incorporated with the name, as *Maclwig*, *Maedonald*, *Maefarians*, &c.

Cefn-Llanfair 10mo. die Jan. per ipsum Principem.
 On the seal of this instrument was the portrait of Owen, seated in a chair, holding a sceptre in his right hand, and a globe in his left. Among the witnesses are Gryffydd his eldest son, and Gryffydd Younge his chancellor; both of whom, the English historians say, were made prisoners, and sent to the tower. Here must be a great inaccuracy; as Henry shewed no mercy to Glyndwr's adherents, and an escape would have been impracticable after getting into his fangs. The other two witnesses are Meredith, another of his sons, and Rhys ap Tudur, and Gwillim ap ———. This regal act might induce us to view Owen in the light of a conqueror, when disasters alone were in his train. The King of England had the precaution to place garrisons in most of the different fortresses of North Wales, which kept the maritime parts from joining Glyndwr's standard. The powerful Isle of Anglesea favoured his cause, and, in Mr. Pennant's opinion, the partizans of Owen had passed the Menai, and while their zeal was warm, had joined his army; but, like the custom in all feudal times, returned to their homes when wearied with the campaign, or loaded with plunder. There is no account of a single action in that isle during this insurrection. An existing instrument evinces, that, by the latter end of this year, the inhabitants had made their peace with the King of England:—"In an inquisition taken at Beaumaris, upon Tuesday, the day next before the feast of St. Martin, the bishop, (November 11th) in the 8th year of King Henry IV. anno domini 1406, before Thomas Twkhwyl, Philip de Mainwaring, and Robert Paris the younger, commissioners, by virtue of a commission from Prince Henry, son and heir apparent of the king, Prince

of Wales, Duke of Aquitaine, Lancaster, and Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, unto them, or any two of them; directed, were indicted, presented, and fined, the several persons and inhabitants of the Isle of Anglesea, whose names are left in record, for being in arms and rebellion with Owen Glyndyfrdwy and others."*—A list of 2112 names, (the number of persons in Anglesea, concerned in this insurrection) would not be very interesting at this distance of time; it is, therefore, omitted, and the *cummæds* and number of persons fined in each, inserted, with the sum total of persons and fines:

		£.	s.	d.
In Llivon.....	411.....	100	18	8
Menai	308.....	65	10	8
Tal-y-bolion ..	399.....	128	16	4
Twr-kelyn	279.....	83	5	8
Malltraeth	326.....	83	16	0
Tindaethwy ..	389.....	79	19	8
	<u>2112</u>	<u>537</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>

According to Mr. Pennant, the greatest of the fines is £8 3s. 4d., and the least, 2s. Two priests are fined five pounds each. Several persons outlawed, among whom was David Daron, Dean of Bangor; at whose house at Aberdaron, the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Edmund Mortimer, and Sir Owen Glyndwr, meditated the division of Britain, in the year 1402.

The goods and chattels of the insurgents, slain in battle, were forfeited to the king, according to the following valuation:—

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
A Horse.....	0	2	0	A yearling Calf ..	0	0	4
Mare	0	1	4	Sheep.....	0	0	4
Cow	0	1	8	Cromach of Wheat	0	3	4
Steer or Heifer..	0	1	0	Do. of Oats	0	2	0

* Pennant from a M.S. of Edward, Lliwyd of the Museum.

Bisfort, Bishop of Bangor, was fined and outlawed among the inhabitants of Anglesea.

The transactions of the year 1407 were few, and unimportant: particularly, the operations left on record.—Owen lost the fortress of Lampeter Pont-Stephen, but soon had the good fortune to recover it.—He also, about this time, lost the important castles of Harlech and Aberystwith. The dispossession of such strong fortresses confined Glyndwr to his native mountains, whence he occasionally issued to ravage the country, and made plundering excursions among his enemies.—His noble allies and fostered visitants, the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf, sensible of Owen's declining cause, about this time, left their asylum in Wales; unwilling to be onerous to their colleague, now in want of protection himself.

The year 1408 is equally uninteresting with the last as to military operations. During this unaccounted-for calm, and peaceful interval, Glyndwr, undoubtedly, was not idle, but busied in recruiting his shattered army, as we shall find him, in the next year, renewing the war, nay recovering some portion of the fame, as well as of the territory, he lately lost.

Percy this year proclaimed war against Henry, as an usurper, and having called in the Scots to his assistance, he valourously led them in person against the common enemy, determined to dethrone his antagonist, or perish in the attempt. A destiny of late attended all his motions, his doom was death.—He was surprised by Thomas Rokesby, high-sheriff of Yorkshire, at Barham Moor, in that county, and in a confused skirmish, his army was routed, and himself slain.—His grandson Henry, son of Hotspur (who was slain at Shrewsbury) was

restored; eleven years after, to the title, honours, and estates appertaining to this noble house.*—His constant attendant, Bifort, Bishop of Bangor, and companion in exile, was taken prisoner in the castle of Barham Moor (Bramham, according to Pennant) in February, 1407—8, but his life was spared, as he was found unarmed. Lord Bardolf also lost his life in this unfortunate rencontre. The parliament, this year, compliment the Prince of Wales, and by their speaker, desire the king to give him public thanks for his great fatigue, and good conduct in Wales; which vote of thanks, the king and prince most graciously received, and returned their compliments to the commons.

The year 1409 commences with great devastations committed by Owen, or his adherents, in the marches, and all parts of Wales, that were well affected to the English government or Bolingbroke's cause.

Carte says, that Owen burnt the suburbs of the town of Pool; contiguous lay the estates of Edward de Charlton Lord Powys, who was a great sufferer in this insurrection, being a warm partizan of the King of England, who gave him the garter. To this lord Henry directs a writ to raise his forces, and suppress, in the most decisive manner, this renewed attempt of Owen at independence, headed by himself and his staunch friend Trevor, Bishop of Saint Asaph; who, though fickle in his politics and wavering in his attachment, one while loyal to his friend and patron, Richard II.; with the next breath, pronouncing his deposition; at the commencement of hostilities, a great sufferer from Glyndwr; in two years' time,

* Camden.

inviolably devoted to his countryman, and abiding by him as long as a prospect remained of success to his arms.—This prelate, notwithstanding a little temporizing inconsistency of character at first, was among Owen's best friends, as a general and negotiator.—To meet this unexpected blow, Lord Powys* is commanded not to absent himself, but to garrison strongly all his castles, and not to permit his vassals to desert their posts. This was dated from Westminster, the 16th May. Similar instructions were transmitted to Edward, Duke of York, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, Richard, Earl of Warwick, *Reginald Lord Grey*, Constantia Lady Despenser, (who attempted the release of the Earl of March, but now pardoned, and at peace with Henry) Francis at Court, of Pembroke, and William Beauchamp. During these predatory, and destructive excursions into the borders, Rhys Ddû, and Phillip Scudamore, two of Owen's best officers, committed great excesses in Shropshire. By the activity of Henry and his strict orders and instructions to his barons, these two gentlemen were made prisoners, sent to London, and executed. Caxton relates, that Rhys was taken before the judges, condemned as a traitor, and drawn on a hurdle through the city to

* Lord Powys married Eleanor, widow of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March. He was a maternal descendant of *Hawys Gadarn*, daughter of Owen ap Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, the last Lord of Powys of British extraction. This great Welsh heiress was married, in Edward the second's time, to Sir John Charleton, *valectus regis* (gentleman of the chamber) who was summoned, as Lord of Powys, to parliament seventh Edward II.—The Charletons were of Appley in Shropshire. The princely residence of this family is within a mile of Welsh Pool, at Powys Castle (*Castell Coch*) a mansion in ancient times of the Princes of Powys. It passed through the Charletons by marriage to the Greys of Heton, in Northumberland; thence, by sale to the Herberts, in whose possession it remains.—One of the Herberts was created Marquis, and afterwards Duke of Powys, by James II. and died in the court of Saint Germain's in 1696.

Tyburn, executed, his quarters sent to four other cities; and his head placed on London bridge.— This barbarity accords with the cruelty always shewn by the Saxons and Normans to the Welsh, when in their power. Hanging children; cutting off the heads of the slain in battle, carrying them away as trophies; sacrilege, and dragging men from sanctuaries and murdering them, even at their devotions, before the altars; were among their pastimes. Pulling out the eyes, cutting off the tongues and other nameless enormities, were a disgrace to a horde of Arabs, much more to a nation, that was emerging from barbarism, and making a rapid progress toward civilization and refinement.*

The Welsh, it must be allowed, had submitted, reluctantly, to the English government for a long period, and had been useful subjects to some potentates, and able warriors in the service of others, and some small allowance ought to have been granted for national prepossession in favour of a Welsh chieftain; whose unredressed wrongs and injuries had hurled into rebellion, and drawn thousands of his deluded countrymen into the same labyrinth of distraction and carnage.—Henry's usurpation of the crown of England, and Owen Glyndwr's insurrection, were both equally indefensible. The one, through unheard of success, retained his crown, while the other witnessed, through uncom-

* The ancient Britons were less prejudiced against the Romans, than the Saxons, though conquered by both, which may be accounted for thus: the Saxons were invited to Britain, and their treachery as stipendiaries was not soon forgotten. However barbarous, or harsh, the Welsh language may be thought by the affected and refined ear, it was musical, and harmonious, when compared with the original Saxon, which must have sounded uncouth to a nation so long accustomed to Roman eloquence. Their religion too, paganism, was no small obstacle to their union with the Britons, who had for many centuries been blessed with the pure light of the gospel.

mon disasters, a second subjugation of his country. The former, during a short reign, was hailed, Henry the IV. of England; while the latter is branded with no milder epithets, than a *rebel*, a *most profligate rebel*. Thus, one murder makes a felon, thousands, a hero: good fortune transforms the usurper into a legal sovereign, and luckless events doom the real hero to disgrace and oblivion; defraud him of his merited fame, and brand him with infamy.—Other executions followed close. On the 18th of November, in this year, Henry, to glut himself with the blood of the unfortunate insurgents, which the chance of war had thrown into his power, issued an order to the constable of Windsor Castle, to deliver to Sir William Lisle, knight, Marshal of England, the following prisoners:—

Howell ap Ieuan ap Howell	Rys ap Meredydd
Walther ap Ieuan Vychan	Madoc ap Bery
Rys ap Ieuan ap Rys	Jenkin Backer
Ieuan Goch ap Morgan	David ap Cad
David ap Tudor	Thomas Dayler.

After this follows a warrant to Sir William to receive them. They were delivered, without a doubt, to the marshal for execution; and were people of distinction, otherwise Windsor Castle would not have been honoured with their confinement. —Sir William Lisle's commission runs thus: "*Certis de causis ad ea omnia et singula quæ ad officium Marescalli Angliæ pertinent excercenda per litteras nostras patentes quamdiu nobis placuerit, duraturas deputavimus.*" It is to be regretted that history is silent about the fate of these brave Welshmen: death, in some shape, was their doom, as the marshal is expressly appointed for that purpose.

Owen's affairs during this year bore a good

aspect, which obliged many officers of the Lords Marchers to form a truce with him and his adherents. The borderers had suffered to an alarming extent, they sighed for peace, and were glad to purchase a respite, at any rate, from the fury of the Welsh. A temporary peace with some of these enabled Glyndwr to harass the remainder with impunity; so that those not engaged in the truce were slain, plundered and ravaged unmercifully. This roused the king's fury; he immediately issued writs to Thomas, Earl of Arundel, Sir Richard L' Strange, Lord of Knockyn, Ellesmere, and other neighbouring manors, Edward Charleton Lord Powys, and *Reginald Lord Grey*, of Ruthyn, and to the Deputy Lieutenant of Herefordshire, directing them to repeal the truce that had been formed of their own authority, and abrogate every illegal compact of the kind, and to pursue and attack Glyndwr and his followers with the utmost vigor.

Lord Grey, the chief cause of the insurrection which is the subject of this narrative, is supposed to have died in captivity after he was made prisoner in the year 1402.—In the above mentioned writ he is ordered to his estates, to repel the ravages of his father-in-law, committed in the borders.—A strict neutrality was supposed to be one term of his redemption. When he broke that term is uncertain. Mr. Pennant asserts that he even lived to serve in the French wars in the reign of Henry V. and his successor, and died in the year 1440.—Owen, from this period, is obliged through the desertion of his friends and followers, to confine himself to the mountainous districts, and act solely on the defensive.—Yet, though weakened and re-

duced; unable to attempt any enterprize of magnitude, he was far from being subdued.

The year 1410 contains few events worthy of historic notice.—The county of Flint was much divided in these troubles, and we find Henry, Prince of Wales, in this year, granting a free pardon to certain of his tenants, in the comot of Coleshill, for enlisting under the banner of disaffection, and for the share they had in what was styled the rebellion of Glyndwr.—Owen ap Aldud most powerfully opposed the English in these borders, and kept all Tegengle under his subjection for about three years, until such time as he obtained full pardon for his adherence to Owen.—Howell Gwynedd, descended from Edwin, Lord of Tegengle, or Tegeingl, one of the fifteen common tribes of North Wales, also for a long period annoyed the English in the county of Flint. This valiant warrior was surprized by his enemies of the town of Flint, and, without any legal process, beheaded at *Moel-y-Gaer*, in the parish of Northorp, and his estate disposed of to one Saxton.* “About a mile north west of the church, is the site, surrounded by a moat, of Llys Edwyn. Edwyn, was Lord of Tëgeingl, the twelfth common tribe, who lived in the tenth century.”†—In this year, Trevor, Bishop of Saint Asaph; observing Glyndwr’s affairs declining fast, nay irremediable, retired to Paris, died, and was buried in the chapel of the infirmary of the abbey de Saint Victoire; and the following epitaph inscribed to his memory:—“Hic jacet Reverendus in Christo Pater Johannes Episcopus Asaphensis in Wallia, qui obiit A D. 1410, Die Veneris X. mensis Aprilis; cujus anima feliciter requiescat in pace. Amen.”

* Camden. † Carlisle.

The year 1411 being quite destitute of military transactions, the gap shall be filled up with a few dateless events.—Leland says that the castle of Dinas, in the Cwmwd of Talgarth, in the county of Brecon, was destroyed by the natives, that it might not be occupied by the favourers of Glyndwr. It is supposed to have been demolished through the influence of the renowned would-be-assassin, David Gam, after Mortimer (who was Lord of Dinas) had united his interest to Owen.—This fortress, according to Leland, consisted of three wards “waullid abowte;” and having three parks and a forest. Jointly with the castle of Blaenllysni, it gave title of baron to John Fitz-Reginald, in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II.*—This castle, has been confounded, by some writers, with Dinas, near Newport, in Pembrokeshire.

Hay, also, in Brecknockshire, suffered greatly during this insurrection. “It complains” as Mr. Camden expresses himself, “of the outrages of that profligate rebel, Owen Glyndowrdwy, who, in his march through these countries, consumed it with fire.” This castle and manor were granted by Edward I. to Humphrey de Bohun the VII. on his marriage with Maud, daughter of William de Fienles, and afterwards appertained to the Dukes of Buckingham.†

It is much to be regretted that historical documents respecting a period of civil discord are so few and scanty; as those remaining, unravel tales unparalleled in ravage and desolation.—Such was the havoc committed at Llanrwst, in the county of Denbigh, and its vicinity, that the place became uninhabitable, was deserted by its inhabitants, grass

* Carlisle. † Ib.

grew in the market place, and deer from the mountains fled for refuge to the churchyard.*—Llanrwst was the repository of the bones of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth. This prince had built and endowed a cistercian abbey at Conway, and his remains were honourably interred there in 1240. In 1283, when Edward I., out of the ruins of the old city, built a new one, he took this abbey into his own hands, and founded another at Maenan, in Denbighshire, about three miles distant, and translated the monks thither. At the dissolution, the stone coffin, containing Llewelyn the Great's ashes, was removed to Llanrwst.† An engraving, or plate, of this ancient sarcophagus is promised in *Cambria Depicta*, now publishing.

A short respite from hostilities was a treat to the English, who, content with the ease they enjoyed, passively watched Owen's motions, and endeavoured only to prevent outrages, restrain desolation, and block him up in his alpine recess.

The year 1412 is also a void in the history of Glyndwr. Sir David Gam was still in durance, and we find Henry at this time negotiating for his release. He was under the necessity of permitting, by writ, his esquire, Llewelyn ap Hoel, father to the notorious David Gam, to make use of Sir John Tiptofte, and William Botiller, to treat with Glyndwr for his enlargement; or to endeavour to make reprisals, by seizing on some of Owen's adherents to exchange for the traitor. The result of the negotiation is not recorded. His intention of assassination, under the semblance of amity and friendship, was too atrocious to admit of a compromise; too horrid a crime to adjust: a crime, which renders

* Wynne. † Tanner and Camden.

courage useless; and cowardice successful! The general opinion is, that *Gam* escaped with impunity, to England, after the heinous attempt in 1402; but this writ of the king disproves the assertion. He suffered, as Mr. Penrart, with a warmth suitable to the subject, observed, a most severe, but merited captivity of *ten* years, from which all the power of his English friends could not release him.

Two noted prisoners, Rhys ap Tudur of Penmynydd, in Anglesea, and his brother; ancestors of Owain ap Meredudd ap Tudur, most commonly called Owen Tudor, and from whom descended the royal line of the Tudors,* were at this time in Henry's power. These Magnanimous warriors fell victims to the cause; they were conveyed to Chester, and there executed.—It has been a cause of surprize that Henry did not exchange either, or both, of these gentlemen for his friend and adherent *David Gam*. Their crimes, probably, were too atrocious to merit the king's clemency: or which is more likely, they were taken after the treaty for

* Carlisle, sub. voce Penmynydd.

"The remains of the residence of the Tudors are, the door of the gateway; part of the house, and the great chimney-piece of the hall, are to be seen in the present farm-house. Some coats of arms, and dates of the building, or time of repairs, are to be seen, with the initials of the names of the owners. The Tudors, for a considerable space before the extinction of their race, assumed the name of Owen. Richard was the last male of the family, and was sheriff of the county of in 1657. Margaret, heiress of the house, married Coningsby Williams, esq. of Glan-y-gors, in this island, who possessed it during life. It was afterwards sold to Lord Bulkeley, in whose descendant it still continues. In the church of Penmynydd is a most magnificent monument of white alabaster, removed at the dissolution from the abbey of Llanfaes to this place; probably erected in memory of one of the house of Tudor. On it is the figure of a man in complete armour, a conic helm, and a mail-guard down to his breast. His lady is in a thick angular hood. Their feet rest on lions. Their heads are supported by angels."—*Penrart*.

Gam's release had its effect.—That a descendant of these victims of delusion should be united to Catherine of France, Queen Dowager of Henry V., and give birth to a royal line, in which was concentrated the rival houses of Lancaster and York, was as singular, as it was providential, for the peace and safety of the realm in general, and of the perturbed principality of Wales in particular.

CHAP. X.

The death of Henry IV.—Statutes enacted against the Welsh. Pardon offered to Owen and his adherents.—His death.—Years 1413, 1414, 1415.

KING Henry IV. died in the beginning of this year. An extreme desire of swaying the British sceptre was the most prominent feature in his character. Deterred by no difficulties, and awed by no scruples of humanity, he obtained a crown by means the most unjustifiable, and the murder of the amiable Richard will be an indelible and eternal blot on his memory. His tumultuous reign, and unsuccessful military operations, especially against Wales, record events that detract greatly from his fame, either as a warrior or statesman. His expeditions against the Percies and his northern adherents proved alone prosperous and effectual.—On his death-bed, when tortured in body and mind, he was seized with doubts respecting his title to the throne, but gave no charge to his son to re-

linquish the claim.* As his reign had been an usurpation, so his death was unlamented.

— Oud' ier tymlu

Ουδ' ἔτι τυμλὺς ἔμεν.

— neque ad tumulum

Ploratus in terram it tyrannus Vir.—*Theognidis Sententie.*

His son Henry, Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitain, Lancaster and Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, succeeded to the throne. He was initiated at a very early age in state matters, and also inured to the toils and hardships of war. His extensive genius was equally happy in forming great schemes, and accomplishing the same; a lover of justice, he obeyed its dictates, and exacted obedience to its rules from all his subjects. His virtues were a little tarnished with ambition, parsimony, and cruelty; propensities inherited from his father.—His youthful years are handed to posterity as dissolute, dissipated, and debauched; his adventures, before his accession to the throne, and subsequent reformation, are trite subjects and stale topics, too often exaggerated and enlarged. When he had time for the sallies and frolics attributed to him, is unaccountable; at the age of *twelve* years, we have found him empowered by his father to receive the submission of his refractory subjects in the city of Chester; and three years after, he is appointed the king's lieutenant for Wales and all the adjacent counties; to act discretionally against the insurgents; to investigate treasons; enquire who supplied the rebels with arms or provisions: and to grant pardons to all who should submit and return to their allegiance: which posts of honour, and places of trust, confidence and credit, are seldom granted to libertines and rakes.

* Collier's Dictionary.

Henry, at the time of his father's death, was engaged in military preparations, and wholly occupied with the invasion and conquest of France, nay, so absorbed was he in the object he had in view, that he forgot all his former animosity to Glyndwr, and the conquest of Wales was wholly forgotten. Glyndwr remained in his alpine, inaccessible, fortress; yet, so closely guarded, that any enterprise of moment was impracticable; our hero had ceased to be formidable.—The Welsh that were tired of the cause, and had submitted, betook themselves to acts of retaliation on the English, who had either slain, or otherwise injured any of their relations or friends in the late contest. This revenge was various in its operations; by every mode of distress and imprisonment, till they had cleared themselves by compurgation, or came to some amicable, satisfactory compact. The proceedings, we may suppose, were both offensive and oppressive, which called for the royal interference to remedy or qualify them. As a step towards redress, Henry the V., in his first year, repealed the *assach*, a statute, according to the custom of Wales, which required the oath of three hundred men, to clear a person accused of any crime; a number the English could not always command to vouch for their innocence. Before the abolition of this custom, a Saxon was liable to remain in gaol for life, as a nation, then so abhorred and detested by the Welsh as the English were, could not procure even a far less number of compurgators than indispensibly requisite. Henry made the attempt penal, and the prosecutor liable to an imprisonment of two years; to pay treble damages, and to pay beside, a fine and ransom before he should be released. This was the last of the many hard and oppressive laws

enacted against the Welsh nation, on account of Glyndwr's insurrection.—Many of them, at first sight, appear uncommonly severe, yet their rigour abates, when the cause is investigated calmly and dispassionately. The Welsh had submitted to conquest (a few insurrections excepted) near a hundred and twenty years; always regarded with a jealous, vigilant eye, and considered in no other light than that of refractory, and rebellious subjects, whom lenity could not win, whom mild laws could not restrain.—Henry the IV., at the first breaking out of the insurrection, tried conciliatory measures; but tried them in vain. Offered pardons, but they were rejected with indignation. In a word, a vast deal of ill blood existed in both nations, which no instrument, less powerful in its operation than the sword, could effectually purge, and draw off.

Taught by experience that every mild and gentle step was unavailing, more harsh and restrictive measures were adopted. The first act of that nature was made in 1400. The Welsh, as observed before, were inviolably attached to the unfortunate Richard; nor were there wanting favourers of his cause among the English themselves: it was the policy of Henry IV. to prevent a coalition, which would finally prove fatal to his dynasty. Swayed by these apprehensions, it was expedient to prevent, as much as possible, all intercourse between the English and Welsh.—The latter, such as were born on both sides of Welsh parents, were incapable of purchasing lands or tenements near any of the cities or towns on the marches of Wales, on pain of forfeiting the same to the Lord Paramount. They were restricted from being citizens or burghesses in any city or borough; or if they had been

settled in any incorporate town before the enacting of this law, they were to find security for their good and loyal behaviour. They were totally disqualified from holding any civil office; of mayor, bailiff, chamberlain, constable, keeper of gates, or gaols, and never allowed to carry any armour, or weapon whatsoever. In case a Welshman refused to make restitution to any Englishman, of cattle, horses, or the like, (forcibly taken) within seven days, the Englishman was allowed to make reprisals—If any suit was pending between a Welshman and Englishman, it was enacted, that the Englishman should not be convicted or condemned, unless by the verdict or judgment of English justices or English burgesses. So jealous was Henry of the charms of our countrywomen, and apprehensive of their influence on his subjects, that, with a view to prevent an intercourse which might have proved injurious, he prohibited the English to wed, or marry with the Welsh, under the penalty of being disfranchised of their liberties. All meetings were prohibited, but by permission of the chief officers, and in the presence of the same. No provisions or armour were to be brought to Wales, without the leave of the king or special license of his council; and to sum up these restraining clauses;—no Welshman could bind his child to any trade, or occupation, in any city or town within the realm, nor breed him up to literature. “These, as the Welsh Chronicle expresses itself, with other laws both *unreasonable* and *unconscionable*. (such as no prince among the heathen ever offered to his subjects) were ordained and severely executed against them. Neither was it any reason for the offence of one man and his accomplices, all the nation should be so persecuted, whereby not only they that lived in

that time, but also their children and posterity should be brought to perpetual thralldom and misery: for these laws were not ordained for their reformation, but on mere purpose to work their ruin and destruction. Let any indifferent man, therefore, judge, and consider whether this *extremity* of law, where justice itself is mere injury and cruelty, be not a cause and matter sufficient to withdraw any people from civility to barbarism."

—"The absurdities of these ordinances," as Mr. Yorke observes, "counteracted their virulence."

—They gradually grew ineffective and obsolete; were not enforced by succeeding monarchs; were indulgently overlooked, and at last consigned to oblivion.

In 1402, a statute respecting particular, local, customs and usages, peculiar to the principality, was enacted. This directs that *Nul Westour, rymour, minstrall, ne Vagabond, soit accurement sustenuz en la terre de Gules, par faire kymarthas ou coillage sur le commune people illoques*: which translated by the honourable Daines Barrington, in his observations on the ancient statutes, runs nearly thus:—That no host,* rhymor, minstrel, or other vagabond, should presume to assemble or collect together.—The word *kymhortha*, Mr. Pennant, observes, is misspelt for the Welsh *cymmorth*, or the plural *cymmorthau*, alluding to assemblies of people convened to assist their neighbours in any job, which custom prevails both in North and South Wales to this day: as *cymmorthau* for spinning; works of husbandry, especially in hay and corn.

* "I beg leave to render the word *Westour* differently; it seems derived from the Welsh *Gwest-wr*, which signifies a person who kept a place of public entertainment; and such a place was very proper for a rendezvous of this nature."—*Pennant*.

harvest; for coal-carriage, landing of limestones on the coast, &c. &c.

At the commencement of this insurrection, such meetings were feigned; under the specious pretence of mutual assistance in different occupations of life, a numerous body of the most able-bodied, vigorous, and disaffected men met to concert a plot, and to be ready to obey the summons of heralds dispatched in different directions, bearing and displaying a bent bow, an emblem of war, to which the bard, Lewis o'r Glyn alludes, speaking of a proclamation of war,

“ Bwa rhadded drwy holl Brydain.

A Bow was sent through all Britain.”

Of the *bow of war and peace*, an elegant plate, and an ingenious explanation of the custom are given in Mr. Roberts's *Cambrian Popular Antiquities*; where the reader will find a succinct, but very minute and curious relation of the *traditions, customs, and superstitions of Wales*, with observations as to their origin.

Of such a nature, are supposed to be, the *hunting matches* formerly in Scotland. A pretence of enjoying an innocent, manly pastime, was a proper opportunity of training their cavalry for war, and inuring themselves to hardships, toil, and fatigue. The end and purpose of such matches were suspected, and the evils resulting from them, and they were at last suppressed by the legislature.

The *cymmonthau* of Welshmen were viewed in the same disaffected light, and restricted by the law lately quoted.—Besides these meetings were composed of the most violent and desperate characters; and bards, the organ of a musical nation, did not fail to be present on such occasions. Their themes

were the eminent deeds of their ancestors, their efforts for emancipation from the Saxon and Norman yoke. Impressed by their high strains the husbandman deserted his plough, and the artist his occupation. Nor were the oppression, cruelty and barbarity of their antagonists left unsung: the savage extermination of their order by Edward I. his oppressive laws and English usages introduced among them. They rehearsed the rigor of the Lords Marchers, the rapacity of the borderers, and tyranny of the Saxons in general towards a proscribed nation, whose only fault was an attachment to their liberties, property, and princes. The ancient prophecies of Merlin which forebode "woe to the red dragon," meaning his countrymen, the Britons, "whose cells," the white dragon, the Saxons "should seize," were plaintively sung to an enraged nation: and the conclusion, which foretold "that the ancient Britons should ultimately rouse, and bravely drive the Saxons beyond the sea,"* were enthusiastically recited, and made a lasting impression on an applauding, superstitious, crowd. Our hero was represented, as a descendant from the ancient race of Welsh princes, in whom would be accomplished these sublime predictions. These oracles were accompanied by the sound of the national band of harp, *crwth*, and pipe, echoed by thousands, inspired with the sound, who joined the standard of revolt, and esteemed it the greatest honour to die in the field of battle; a death conferring immortality in reward for their valour.

—Inde ruendi

In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis et ignavam est reditura parcare vitam.—*Lucan.*

* Neanius.

Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
 But rush undaunted on the pointed steel:
 Provoke approaching fate, and bravely scorn
 To spare that life which must so soon return.—*Race.*

Glyndwr maintained a predatory, marauding, warfare for two years longer, which his strong posts among the mountains favoured, though little worthy of the historian remains unrelated.—Nevertheless, in the year 1415, the king condescended to treat with him, a proof of his affairs being not irremediable, nor his situation untenable. In that year, Sir Gilbert Talbot, of Grafton, in the county of Worcester, a younger son of John, the second Earl of Shrewsbury, was deputed by a document issued from the castle of Porchester; with full powers to negotiate with Owen; the terms were favourable, nay, flattering; a free pardon to Glyndwr and his followers in case they should request it. His intercessor, on this occasion, is supposed to have been, David Holpetch, deputy steward of the lordships of Bromfield and Yale.—The result of this proffered act of grace is not recorded. Death, it is supposed, closed the treaty, and prevented an honourable accommodation, and a happy termination of this unnatural contest, to the satisfaction of England, and personal safety, at least, of Glyndwr.

Our hero terminated his hopes and fears, on the 20th of September, 1415, on the eve of Saint Matthew, in the 61st year of his age.

The boast of Heraldry, the pomp of pow'r,
 And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
 Awaits alike th' inevitable hour;
 The *Paths of Glory* lead but to the grave.—*Gray.*

He paid the debt of nature at the house of one of his daughters; but whether that of his daughter Scudamore or Monington, is uncertain. The tra-

dition of the county of Hereford says, that he died at Monington,* and was buried in that church-yard. No sepulchral effigy peculiar to that period, no monument or any memorial, mark the place of his sepulture. Kentchurch, also claims the honour of being the place of his interment. His daughter having married a Scudamore, proprietor of Kentchurch Court, afforded the conjecture, where, after his proscription, it is said he took refuge.†—Owen

* Monington, Herefordshire.

"About 1680, the church was rebuilt. In the church-yard stood the trunk of a sycamore, in height about nine foot, diameter two foot and a half; which being in the workmen's way was cut down. Directly under it, about a foot below the surface of the ground was laid a large grave-stone without any inscription; and that being removed, there was discovered at the bottom of a well-stoned grave the body (as 'tis supposed) of *Owen Glyndwr*; which was whole and entire, and of goodly stature. But there were no tokens or remains of any coffin. Where any part of it was touched, it fell to ashes. After it had been exposed two days, Mr. Tomkins ordered the stone to be placed over it again, and the earth to be cast in upon it."

Harl. M.S.S. 6832.

The above was very obligingly communicated by *Edward Jones*, esq. bard to the king; to whom the author is indebted for much valuable and important information, and takes this opportunity publicly to express his warmest acknowledgments.

† A singular personage, John of Kent (Son Cent of the Welsh) of whose feats such wonders are related, is supposed by many to have been our hero, under a feigned name; but very erroneously.—John of Kent began his career at Kentchurch, according to the tradition of the neighbourhood, and an old tomb-stone in the church-yard, close to the east wall of the chancel, is said to cover his remains; a cellar in Kentchurch is shewn as the stable where he kept his horses, which traversed the air with the speed of Lapland witches; and his portrait on wood is also there preserved.* There are various conjectures about this strange character, called by some a Franciscan monk, and mentioned by Leland as a man of uncommon learning and great sanctity, by others, he is supposed to be a bard of Glyndwr, domesticated at Kentchurch, on the defeat of his chief-tain. The most authentic accounts assert, that he was a clergyman of Herefordshire, a sharp reprover of the vices and pride of his order, a severe censor of the gentry, monks, and common people. Numerous pieces, attributed to him are still extant, which evince great genius

* *Coxe's Historical Tour in Monmouthshire.*

Glyndwr, in person, is said to have been tall, vigorous, dignified and majestic, perfect master of all the accomplishments of the age. In manners, princely and engaging, in address, easy, eloquent, and prepossessing; a great statesman in the cabinet, and a lion in the field. In common with his countrymen, he possessed a vein of bardism, and an extempore effusion of his has been already inserted. With more moderation, and less vindictiveness, he might have added lustre to a crown; but infected with an insuperable rancour towards the English, many acts fall to the province of the historian to record, inconsistent with justice, or humanity. His provocations were great, and insults unmerited, especially from Lord Grey; the result was the rebellion, now arranged, and digested into some order.—Though traduced by monks, and slandered by contemporary writers, our hero died unsubdued, unfortunate only in the prospect of a second subjugation of Cambria, after all his efforts for its emancipation and independency.—The struggle, though unsuccessful, merits the applause of posterity; it proved that oppression could not be borne with impunity, nor rapaciousness pass unredressed.

The printed histories and manuscript accounts, particularly those of monkish writers, who were biassed in favour of the usurper's government, represent his latter end as wretched in the extreme:

and purity of manners. In an age, when little learning was esteemed a prodigy, it is no wonder to find Kent's acquirements magnified, and such legendary tales related of him. A knowledge of mathematics made him a conjurer, of astronomy, a soothsayer; while his taste in architecture, and the construction of the bridge over the Munnow, by his directions, was attributed to the agency of the devil. "In fine, old and young, men and boys hold him up a second Doctor Faustus, and are warm in their eulogiums on this universal benefactor."—*Coxe.*

they assert that he wandered forlorn from place to place, an outcast from society, disguised in the garb of a shepherd, and in a most forlorn, abject condition; that he was obliged, to prevent falling into the hands of his enemies, or false friends, to shelter in caves and desert places; and that his end was as miserable as his life had been turbulent and rebellious. These exaggerated accounts carry not the appearance of probability. Had his situation been thus deplorable, a prince of Henry's pride and spirit would never have condescended to propose terms to such a scourge as Glyndwr had proved himself to his father and himself; terms, by no means humiliating or terrific, vilifying or degrading; but terms, worthy of majesty to offer, and of defeated hopes to embrace, and more lenient than his crimes could expect—An offer of free pardon to him and his followers, in case they should request it. His great distresses and gloomy situation followed immediately after his retreat from the battle of *Pwll-Melyn*, in 1405, the effects of which defeat he soon repaired, and sallied forth with renovated vigour to meet the foe.—The insurrection was suppressed by the king of terrors, and death alone prevented Owen from accepting the proffered accommodation.

The treaty was renewed by the same minister, Sir Gilbert Talbot, on the 24th of February, 1416, with Meredydd ap Owen, the son of Glyndwr, which is supposed to have produced the desired effect, and peace restored to England, after a bloody, and indecisive struggle of more than fifteen years.

While Quarrel's rage did nourish ruihest rack,
And Owen Glyndore set bloodie broils abroad;
Full many a town was spoyl'd, and put to sack,
And clean consumed, to countrie's foul reproach.

Great castles rais'd, fair buildings burnt to dust,
 Such revel reign'd, that men did live by lust;
 But since they came and yielded unto laws,
 Most meek as lambs, within one yoke they draw.

Churchyard's Worthies of Wales

Glyndwr's manor of Glyndwrddwy, upon his attainder, and forfeiture thereof, was sold by Henry the IV. to a second son of the Salesburys, of Bathymbyd, a younger branch of Llyweni. Through the Salesburys, the Pughes of Mathafarn, and the Pryses of Gogerthan, it rests in Edward Williames Vaughan Salesbury, esq. second son of the late Sir Robert Howel Vaughan, of Nannau.*—"A place still remains, that retains the name of his park. It extends about a mile or two beyond the site of his house, on the left hand of the valley. The vestiges of the mansion are small; the moat is visible. The measurement of the area it circumscribed is forty-six paces, by twenty-six. There is the appearance of a wall on the outside, which it extended to the top of a great mount, on which stood the wooden house," probably a *castellet*, described by his bard, Iolo Goch. "On the other side, but at a greater distance, I had passed by another mount of the same kind, called Hên-dom; which, probably might have had, formerly a building

* Yorko.

At Rug, the seat of Colonel Salisbury, successor to Glyndwr, as Lord of Corwen, is shewn a dagger, knife, and fork, all in one sheath, but each had a distinct compartment, richly ornamented with silver, which Glyndwr usually carried. The knife and fork are rather slender; the dagger is about 17 inches long, 12 of which constitutes the blade, which tapers to a point. At the end of the handle are his arms, consisting of a lion rampant, and three flowers de lis obviously engraven. The principal part of the handle is inlaid with black and yellow wood, banded with silver; and the shield at the top of the blade, a solid piece of the same metal, curiously wrought, but not much larger in circumference than a crown piece. The knife and fork must necessarily be sheathed first, which the shield covers, consequently the dagger must be drawn first.

similar to that described by the bard, (viz. a wooden house supported on posts, and covered with tile) this, perhaps, was the station of a guard, to prevent surprise or insult from the English side. He had much to apprehend from the neighbouring fortress of Dinas Brân,* and its appendages, possessed by the Earl of Arundel, a strenuous supporter of the house of Lancaster.†

Quod potui feci, quod restat suppleat alter
Doctior, et nostris faveat non invidus ausis.—*Pentarchia.*

* *Castell Dinas Brân* lies opposite to the town of Llangollen; its ruins cover nearly the summit of a vast conoid hill, steeply sloped on every side. This is one of the primitive Welsh castles. In the reign of Henry III. it was the retreat of Griffith ap Madoc, who traitorously sided with the English. On his death, it came to the Warrens, from them by marriage to the Fitzalans, and followed the succession of the Lords of Bromfield. The pillar of *Eliedg* is in this neighbourhood: It was erected about the year 850, to the memory of *Eliedg*, Prince of Powys, by his great grandson Kyngen (or *Concenn*) ab Kadell ab Brychwæl.

This pillar, which is round and inserted in a massy square pedestal, was originally 12 feet high; but being thrown down in the civil wars, it was broken and lay neglected till the proprietor of the land restored what remains of it, and charged it with this inscription:—*Quod hujus veteris monumenti superest, diu ex oculis remotum et neglectum tandem restituit T. Lloyd de Trevor Hall, A. D. 1779.*—*Pennant and Lloyd's Archaeologia.*

† *Pennant.*

CHAP. XI.

A Cursory Survey of the Condition of Wales, from the termination, of Glyndwr's Insurrection, to the death of Henry the Seventh.

THE revolt of Glyndwr was the last effort of the ancient Britons at independence. From this period, their ungovernable spirit, and high ambition gradually declined. The blood of their princes was nearly exhausted, and we shall soon find that gallant and ancient nation, so many centuries the victims of ambition and conquest, the most loyal subjects to the English government; acknowledging with gratitude, "that they were conquered to their gain, and undone to their advantage."* Finding in time the change beneficial, from a precarious liberty, to stable, equable laws, and establishment under one monarch, we see this small residue of ancient Britons uniting in interests and amity with their conquerors, and rivaling in fidelity the best affected to the British empire.

Unfortunately this change in the spirit of the Welsh, was a work of time. Good masters deserve good servants. Had the English government kept this maxim in view, and repealed the farrago of laws, so inconsistent in themselves, and so discouraging to Welsh subjects, at an earlier period, there is no doubt but that their effects would have been immediately and universally felt, acknowledged, and regarded.

The Welsh, however, had the sense to shew a reformation, and English leniency followed; as oppression vanished, Welsh loyalty increased, until both nations amalgamated, and became one. But

* Vaughan of Hengwrt,

before these happy effects were produced, it remains to be related, how, and by whom the Welsh were emancipated from a thralldom most poignant, subsequent to Glyndwr's insurrection; from fetters, which his revolt seemed to have clenched for ever.

The uncontrollable, unlimited authority of the Lords Marchers, the root and source of Cambrian bondage, was still *predominant*, nay increasing. The late disturbance, far from meliorating the condition of Welsh subjects, served only to make rigour doubly oppressive. Irritated and galled by the lash of oppression, restrained by no laws, employed in no sciences or arts, manufactures or commerce, the nation sunk into sloth, ferocity, deadly feuds, which were diversified only at intervals with games and the pleasures of the chace. Henry the V., in every respect a powerful, and prosperous prince, was too much engaged to notice a territory, in itself insignificant, refractory, and beneath the regard of the conqueror of France. However, it must be alledged, that he added no laws to aggravate its condition. The Welsh also, in return, were not deficient in due obedience to his government: many of its chieftains attended his expeditions to France, accompanied by their vassals, and aided him in the conquest of that powerful, rival, kingdom.—The feats of Sir David Gam and his associates, have been already noticed. Sir John Grey, who married Joan, one of the coheiresses of Edward Lord Powys, distinguished himself in the fifth Henry's French war; and had large grants from his prince in that kingdom, with the earldom and castle of Tankerville. He remained in service in France, was honoured with the garter, and fell in the battle of Bonge;* an action, with others about this time, as

* York.

Petrarch observes, fatal to the French, and attributed to their drunkenness. Their *success* in the revolutionary war under Dumourier, is said to have proceeded from the same cause, the spirit of brandy.

The death of Henry the V. followed in 1422, after a triumphant reign of nine years and five months; a prince as brave as he was successful. He left one son only, by Catherine his queen, daughter of Charles the V. of France, afterwards Henry VI. — From the dowager, queen of Henry V. descended the royal family of Tudor. Soon after the death of her royal consort, Catherine became enamoured with the many graces of Owen Tudor. The introduction of Owen, according to Drayton's *Epistles*, was singular: he, being a courtly and active gentleman, was commanded once to dance before the queen, and in a turn, not being able to recover himself, fell into her lap as she sat on a little stool with many of her ladies about her. The issue from this odd adventure, and consequent marriage, was a son named Edmund de Hadham, who was created Earl of Richmond, by his half-brother, Henry VI., with this peculiar privilege, that he should take place in parliament next the dukes. Edmund married Margaret, only daughter of John, the first duke of Somerset,* and had issue Henry VII. — He had a brother, Jasper of Hatfield, created Earl of Pembroke, who had precedence of all earls; divested of the honor afterwards.

The following anecdote respecting the union may

* John de Beauforte, natural son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by Catherine Swineford (being with his brothers and sister made legitimate by Richard II. by the assent of parliament) was advanced to the honour of Earl of Somerset; his son John was created Duke of Somerset, by Henry V. — *Camden*.

amuse the reader:—"Queen Catherine, being a French woman born, the relict of Henry the V., knew no difference between the English and the Welsh nations, until her second marriage being published, Owain Tewdwr's kindred and countrymen were objected to, to disgrace him as most vile and barbarous, which made her desire to see some of his kinsmen. Whereupon Owain brought to her presence, John ap Maredudd, and Hywel ap Llywelyn, his near cousins, and men of goodly stature and personage, but wholly destitute of bringing up and nurture; for when the queen had spoken to them in different languages, and they were not able to answer her, she said they were the goodliest dumb creatures that ever she saw."*

The ancestors of Owen Tudor resided at Penmynydd, in the county of Anglesea, the remains of which have already been detailed.†

Henry the VI. was only nine months old when he succeeded to the throne. He, most unaccountably, never had the honour of Prince of Wales conferred on him. His reign was a turbulent one; the miseries of which he bore with the greatest fortitude and resignation. The intention of the author, in this part of his historic essay, is to give a concise narrative of the situation of the Welsh, during

* Yorke.

† Owen Tudor was buried at Saint David's. In the cathedral church of Saint David's, "beyond the screen separating the choir from the altar, and exactly opposite the entrance into it, is an altar-tomb of Owen Tudor's son, Edmund, Earl of Richmond. He was first buried in the Grey Friars, Carmarthen, and at the dissolution of that house, his remains were removed and the monument brought hither, the brasses fell a prey to the civil war. The epitaph was copied and preserved by Sir Thos. Cotton."—*Fenton's Pembrokeshire*.

When we come to the union of York and Lancaster, further augmented details shall be given with regard to Owen Tudor's genealogy, from a commission sent into Wales by Henry VII. to investigate his descent; which will evince that he was neither vilely nor barbarously descended.

the period succeeding Owen's insurrection, to their full emancipation, from the shackles of oppression, in the reigns of Henry the VII, and Henry the VIII.; of the part they took in the troubles of the times; until an equable participation of British laws and liberty, rendered them the most loyal subjects of the empire.

The Welsh, conceiving Edward the fourth's title superior to that of Henry the sixth's, determined them to the house of York's interest. Bearing his name and blood from the ancient Britons, a descendant, in the female line, of Anne, daughter and sole heiress of the last Earl of March, Edward the IV. claimed their esteemed, affection and allegiance; whose title they supported, and whose battles they fought. But tho' the major part of the Welsh nation sided with the York party, yet there was an exception.—Reinallt ap Gryflydd ap Bleddyn, of the Tower, with five other gallant Welsh captains, defended Harlech castle against Pembroke, Edward the fourth's general. Dafydd ap Ieuan ap Eion, another of the party, observed, after baffling, for a long time, Pembroke's assault, "I held a tower in France, till all the old women in Wales heard of it, and now the old women of France shall hear how I defended this castle."*—Owen Tudor was also a partizan of the Lancastrian party; he was made prisoner by the Yorkists, and confined in Uske Castle.† His cousin John ap Meredith,

* Yorks.

† In Uske church is a long and narrow brass plate, containing this inscription: "Noh cloddi yr Ellrhod Caerlleon, Advocað Llaunhaedd Llundain, a Barnwr Bedd Breint apud Ty'n ei Aro, Ty Avale; selif synawyr sumæ sedum Usk, val kylche deg kymmyde; Doctor kymmen, Beua Loer ini Llawn Oleuni." Mr. Theophilus Evans conceiving the inscription to be a medley of Latin and Welsh, from the long intercourse between the two nations, has interpreted it, by

and a hundred more of his countrymen, feeling for the misfortunes and confinement of his kinsman, repaired to Uske. On his return, within two miles of Caerlleon, being beset by a party, favourers of the house of Yorke, and supposing destruction inevitable, he harangued his companions, and begged of them to remember, at that time, the support of the honour, prowess, and credit of their ancestors; Let it it never be said, added he, that *there* a hundred North Welsh gentlemen *fled*, but that the spot should be memorable and pointed out as the place where a hundred North Welsh gentlemen were slain. So, assuming courage from despair, he so arranged his small detachment, placing Hywel ap Llywelyn ap Hywel, and some others, (who were the only sons of their fathers, and as such were to succeed in their name and inheritance) in the rear, and out of the brunt of the attack, whilst all his own sons were drawn out in the van, headed by himself to death or victory. The onset was tremendous, he opened a passage with his sword;

putting it in good Latin, thus: "Noli effodere Professorem Caerle-gionensis, advocatum dignissimum Llandinensem, et judicem Sacri privilegii apud fanum Aaronis at fanum Avaloniæ; Solomonem Astrologum summæ Civitatis Usk, tenentis circiter decem comotes; Doctorem Eloquentem, Lunam lucidam ni plenilunio lucentem."

Drych y Prif Oesoedd.—The same translated into English by the Rev. Mr. Evans, Vicar of Saint Woolos: "In this place was buried the teacher, lord, learned, advocate of full competency, of London, and baron of the liberties of the villages of Ty' Nevaro Ty Havalie; a Solomon of discreet counsel, around Usk, so far as sleep ten comots, an eloquent doctor where the moon has her full lustres."

—Another translation by Mr. Owen, author of the *Cam. British Dictionary*: "Ah, behold the grave of the great teacher is the sod of the vale! When the battle took place, London felt embarrassed, and the song of the bards of ancient lore, and their joy, all vanish through his death: He who was like Solomon, profound of word, on Isca's banks his couch of sleep! Fairly the eloquent doctor reconciled disputes: Clergy and laity were fully enlightened by him."

Picture of Monmouthshire.

the party was defeated. A scar of honour, from a wound in the face, caused him to be called '*Squier y Graith*, to his dying day.*

William, son of Sir William ap Thomas of Ragland, Monmouthshire, (then regarded a Welsh county) was a favourite of Edward IV. and a strong advocate for his cause. His influence as Lord of Ragland, Chepstow, and Gower, and Earl of Pembroke, must have been very great; created Earl of Pembroke, for his services against Jasper of Hatfield, in Wales; and Jasper divested of the title. He adopted the name of Herbert, at the king's command, in honour of his ancestor Herbert Fitz Henry, chamberlain to king Henry L.—at the memorable battle of Danesmore, near Banbury, in the county of Northampton, the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Stafford quarreling for an inn, for their quarters, at Banbury, gave the Earl of Warwick an opportunity to attack them. The Earl of Pembroke and his cousin, Sir Richard Herbert, of Coldbrook, were taken prisoners and barbarously beheaded.† —Mr. Yorke terms this affair, a retaliation of similar cruelties, particularly in North Wales, committed by their own men, and relates, that Pembroke

* Yorke.

† Camden and Picture of Monmouthshire: Sir Richard's ashes repose beneath an alabaster monument in Abergavenny church. He was a man of uncommon stature and courage. In the battle of Danesmore, he displayed such striking instances of prowess and force, as are scarcely to be equalled in the annals of chivalry. With his pole ax he passed and returned twice through the enemy's army, and killed with his own hand 140 men, but when his party were on the point of obtaining the victory; the Welsh troops, mistaking a small detachment of the army for the advanced guard of the Lancastrians, under the Earl of Warwick, were struck with a panic, and fled on all sides. Much intercession was made to save his life, but ineffectually. He suffered death with a spirit and resolution worthy of his character and fame. Thus fell Sir Richard Herbert! the intrepid soldier, and flower of chivalry,—Picture of Monmouthshire.

beheaded Thomas ap Robin of Cochwillan, of the tribe of Marchudd, near the castle of Conway, because he was an adherent of the house of Lancaster; his wife, a pattern of conjugal fidelity and affection, witnessed the execution, and carried away her consort's head in her apron.—This heroic act of a female places the Welsh women in a more amiable point of view, than the description given of them by Holinshed and Shakespear; after the battle of Pilleth, in 1402.—Of Herbert's devastations in North Wales, Sir John Wynne of Gwydir has this paragraph: Earl Herbert's desolation consumed the whole borough of Llanrwst, and all the vale of Conway, to cold coals (cinders), whereof the print is yet extant; the very stones of the ruins of many habitations carrying yet the colour of fire."* During this ruinous war, distinguished by the *white roses* and *red roses*. Henry VI. was four times taken prisoner; many of the blood royal and of the greatest nobility slain; Normandy lost; Ireland neglected and relapsed to its original wildness; and Wales drained of its best blood and treasure, to keep up an unnatural contest. Henry was at last made prisoner, imprisoned in the tower, where Edward, for his own safety, sacrificed him, and buried without the least mark of honour in the abbey of Chertsey, in Surrey. His remains were afterwards removed by Henry VII. to Windsor, and buried

* History of the Gwedir family.

Dafydd ap Jenkin ap Einon, a British nobleman, and a partizan of the house of Lancaster, defended the castle of Harlech most bravely and resolutely against Edward IV., until the Earl of Pembroke forced his way through the Welsh alps, stormed it so vigorously, that it surrendered. My author, Camden, says, it is almost incredible what great difficulties he struggled with in his arduous, toilsome march: when in some places whilst he ascended the mountains, he was forced to creep; and in descending, to "tumble down in a manner," together with his soldiers: His rout is denominated *Lle Herbert* to this day.

there with a solemnity becoming a king. An application was made by the same king to Pope Julius to have him inserted in the calendar of saints, which the pope's avarice frustrated, by demanding an enormous sum for his canonization. Henry sixth's son, Edward, Prince of Wales, was taken in the battle of Tewkesbury, and had his brains dashed out by the York party.

Edward the fourth, eldest son of Richard, Duke of York (who was slain in the battle of Wakefield) was a surprising active, vigilant and warlike prince. His affairs are so interwoven with the transactions of the last reign, as to leave few events to be further recorded. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Baron Widdevil or Wodvil of Rivers; the first king since the conquest that married a subject. This union was the source of great calamity both to Edward and the lady's relations. Her father rose rapidly, was created Earl of Rivers; Lord of the Isle of Wight; and constituted Constable of England, and also lord treasurer. After enjoying these great honours for some time, he was defeated in the battle of Edgecote, fighting for his son-in-law; and soon after intercepted and beheaded. Edward IV. was no sooner firmly established on the throne, and invested with regal dignity, than he devoted himself to his pleasures. Philip de Comines pretends that he died of chagrin, because Louis XI. preferred the alliance of the house of Austria to that of his family, which is not credited; others accuse his brother, the Duke of Gloucester of poisoning him; which his future conduct renders probable at least; while others assert, that he indulged himself too much at a banquet, and died of gormandizing, a death very unworthy of his illustrious life, and successful career.

Edward the V. was but twelve years of age when he began his reign. He had been created Prince of Wales by his father, as soon as he was fixed on the throne. His uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was declared protector of the kingdom during his minority, and had his two nephews, Edward, and Richard Duke of York, completely in his power. They were lodged in the tower, where the kings of England usually resided previous to their coronation. The Duke of Gloucester, whose ambition was only equalled by his lust and cruelty, endeavoured to instigate Sir Robert Brackenbury, lieutenant of the tower, to murder these innocent princes, and pave the way for himself to the throne. Brackenbury revolted at the proposal, and spurned the thoughts of being an accomplice in so barbarous and foul a deed. The government of the tower was transferred for one night only, to Sir James Tyrrel; who undertook the business, and employed Miles Forest and John Deighton to smother them with pillows, in the dead of night; a death which stifled their cries, and left no mark of violence. The continuer of Harding's Chronicle says, that they were put into a leaden coffin (called by Shakespear, a coffin full of holes) and cast into the black deeps near the mouth of the Thames, by Sir Robert Brackenbury's priest. But their bodies were found, July 17th, 1674, by some workmen employed to remove the steps leading into the chapel of the tower, which, in all probability, was the first and only place they were deposited in. The bones, a few relics, sent to the museum at Oxford, excepted, were translated in 1678, by the orders of King Charles the II. and decently interred in Westminster abbey, under a monument of black and white marble, and the following epitaph:—

H. S. S.

Reliquiæ Edwardi V. Regis Angliæ, et Richardi Ducis Eboracensis. Hos Germanos fratres Turri Londinensi conclusos, injectisque culticis suffocatos, abdite et inhoneste tumulari jussit Patruus Richardus, perfidus regni prædo. Ossa desideratorum, diu et multum quesita, post annos 190, &c. Sclarum in ruderibus (scalæ istæ ad Sacellum Turris Albæ nuper ducebant) alte defossa, indiciiis certissimis reperta 17 die Julii, Anno Dom. 1674.

Carolus secundus Rex clementissimus acerbam sortem miseratus, inter avita monumenta, Principibus infelicissimis justa persolvit, Anno Dom. 1678. Annoque regni Sui 30.—*Camden.*

Glocester began now, in earnest, to aim at the crown, and under the guise of liberality, affability, gravity, and justice, he gained the affection of the nation. Though one of the worst of men, yet by dissimulation and every subtle device, he gained the lawyers on his side to plead and establish his title. He was petitioned, and earnestly pressed to accept of the crown, as the only means of preserving the nation from ruin, whose perplexed state and situation were represented as the result of Edward the fourth's illegal marriage, as it was termed, and whose issue was pronounced to be illegitimate and incapable of inheriting the crown. That since George, Duke of Clarence, second brother of Edward IV. was, by act of parliament attainted of high treason, and his children excluded from all right of succession, the nation looked up to him as the sole remaining and undoubted heir to the crown. As he was born in England, they were fully persuaded he would consult the welfare of the country; his legitimacy, wisdom, justice, and valor, were indubitable; his extraction (as descended from the royal race of England, France, and Spain) approved and unquestionable. On these considerations they elect him to be their king, and implore him to accept of the kingdoms of England, France and Ireland; promising, at the same time, all faith, duty, and allegiance.

The above reasons, encomiums, and panegyrics resolved the wily duke, removed all scruples, and he was inaugurated and crowned; the inheritance also declared to appertain to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten. Thus, as Mr. Camden observes; the Duke of Gloucester's pretended godliness, subtle arguments of lawyers, flattering hope, cowardly fear, the love of novelty, and specious pretences, may prevail against all right and justice. Whatever his qualifications for empire were; however deserving of a crown, as represented by his encomiasts, still the means by which he aspired to the one, and obtained the other, will remain an indelible stain and blemish on his character. Though ranked in the number of the worst of men; classed among the good princes, his vices, it must be allowed, predominated in the man and the monarch;

Had thy aspiring soul but stirr'd in virtue,
With half the spirit it has dar'd in evil,
How might thy fame have grac'd our English annals!
But as thou art, how fair, a page thou'st blotted?—*Shakespeare.*

This monster of inhumanity's reign was short. The most sensible and less bigotted part of the nation regarded Henry, Earl of Richmond, as the future deliverer of the kingdom, from the thralldom it endured, from the tyranny of the sanguinary king, Richard III.; as in him could be united the pretensions of both houses of York and Lancaster. The Earl of Richmond was then resident at the court of the Duke of Bretagne, in France. The circumstance that more immediately favoured his accession to the throne was the following:—Morton,*

* The small remains of Ely Tower, in Brecknock castle, still continue. The fate of Morton and Buckingham, though their views were similar, was very unlike: Morton was meritoriously promoted Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury for his services; while

Bishop of Ely, was confined in the castle of Brecon, in the custody of Henry Duke of Buckingham; the duke was a minion of Richard, and powerful means of bringing him to the throne. Thinking himself disrespected in not being restored to the patrimony of the Bohuns, to which he was lawful heir, operated in favour of Richmond, aided also by Morton's arguments, who has the honour of projecting and concerting that great event of uniting the houses of Lancaster and York, by the marriage of the Earl of Richmond with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the IV.—Mr. Dugdale assigns another reason for Buckingham's acceding to Morton's plan: after asserting, that Buckingham was reinstated in those possessions which he claimed as a descendant of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and giving him an abstract of the instrument that gave him possession, he adds his opinion on the alteration which took place in his political sentiments, and ascribes it either to remorse of conscience for raising Richard to the throne, after the barbarous murder of his nephews, or finding himself neglected by him.

Having concerted the plan of elevating Richmond to the throne, the secret was entrusted to Sir Rhys ap Thomas and Mr. Richard Kyffin, Dean of Bangor, both strenuous friends to the house of Lancaster, who transmitted, by means of fishing boats,

Buckingham was intercepted and lost his head at Salisbury. He found too late that tyrants pull down those scaffolds, which elevated them to power. His son Edward was restored by Henry VII., but through the machinations of Wolsey fell into disgrace, and was beheaded by Henry VIII., for the whimsical alledged crime of consulting a wizard about the succession. When Charles V. heard of his death, he said that a butcher's dog had torn down the finest buck in England.—*Camden.*

the necessary intelligence, with assurance of all possible aid, to the Earl of Richmond, in Bretagne.

This period was too alluring for the Welsh bards to continue silent. Dafydd ap Llwyd ap Llywelyn ap Gryffydd, Lord of Mathafarn, an illustrious poet and herald, was very serviceable to the cause. His dark, mysterious, pythonic prophecies, that a chieftain of Wales should liberate the nation from Saxon bondage, so wrought on the valor of his countrymen, that many thousands enlisted under the banner of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, who joined Richmond at Milford.—Henry, apprized of the state of the nation, and of the respectable posture it was in for his reception, lost no time, but set sail from Harflet in the month of August, 1485. The Duke of Bretagne furnished him with 2000 troops, with which he landed at Milford; a haven ever memorable for the happy event:

*Hic exarmatum terris cingentibus æquor
Clanditur, et placidam discit servare quietem.*

*Here circling banks the furious winds control,
And peaceful waves with gentle murmur roll.*

Immediately after landing, he marched to Dale and Haverfordwest, and was joined, by Arnold Butler, Richard Gryffydd, John Morgan, Sir Rhys ap Thomas,* Sir George Talbot, with the young Earl

* This renowned Welshman, Sir Rhys ap Thomas, knight of the garter, was descended from Rhys ap Tewdwr, of the royal house of South Wales. He had been appointed governor of South Wales by Richard III. One of his residences was Abermarles, in the county of Carmarthen, in its time, a princely mansion, and called by Leland, a fair house of old Sir Rees's. Newcastle Emlyn in the same county; (appertaining to the Princes of Dynevor, and celebrated in Cambro-British history) was also his property, and often honoured with his residence. Carew castle in Pembrokeshire, (a castle and barony given as a marriage portion with Newsta,* daughter of Rhys, Prince

* Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, and concubine to Henry I. by whom he had the valiant and heroic Robert, Earl of Gloucester. This celebrated beauty, after her

of Shrewsbury, his ward, Sir William Stanley, Lord of Bromfield, Yale, and Chirkland, Sir Thomas Burchier, and Sir Walter Hungerford.

After a hospitable reception at Carew Castle, it was agreed, in order to prevent disputes between the armies, that in the march to Shrewsbury, the earl should shape his course by Cardigan, and Sir Rhys ap Thomas by Carmarthen. Dafydd ap Ieuan had the honour to entertain Richmond and his army at Llwyn-Dafydd, Cardiganshire, for one night; and

of South Wales, to Gerald de Carrio) was mortgaged by Sir Edmund Carew to Sir Rees ap Thomas, and became his favourite residence, where he spent the latter part of his life; the Bishop of St. David's, then at Lamphey palace a constant resident, induced Sir Rhys to prefer Carew to his other demesnes, as an inviolable friendship and amicable intercourse subsisted between him and the then Bishop of the see. On the east side of the chimney are the arms of Henry VII. A tournament was held here in Rhys's time. His great possessions and castellated mansions were forfeited, in the reign of Henry VIII. by the attainder of his grandson, Rice Griffith. Abermarles was granted by the crown to Sir Thomas Jones, knight, thence by marriage to Sir Francis Cornwallis. His son leaving issue four daughters, the three youngest married; the estate was divided in 1793, among their descendants: Abermarles came to Lord Viscount Hawarden, who disposed of the mansion, demesne, park and manor to Admiral Foley, who led the fleet to action at the battle of the Nile; commanded the *Britannia*, with equal gallantry, in Lord Saint Vincent's action, and on board whose ship Lord Nelson shifted his flag, at the battle of Copenhagen. He has built a magnificent mansion near the site of the old house.

The demesnes, castle, &c. of Emlyn, became the property of the Vaughans of Golden grove, (The Vaughans were successively Lords of Molingar, Earls of Carbery and Lords of *Emlyn*) and are now the property of the Right Honourable Lord Cawdor, as devisee of the late J. Vaughan, of Golden Grove, esquire.—The barony and castle of Carew was granted by leases, for specified terms, to Sir J. Perrot, and others; the remainder of which terms was purchased by Sir John Carew, kinsman of Sir Edmund aforementioned, to whom Charles I. restored the fee simple and inheritance; from whom it descended to the present owner, G. H. Warrington, esq.—*Carlisle and Dygdale*.

connexion with Henry had ceased, was obtained in marriage by Gerald de Windsor, with Carew and seven other demesnes for her dower. His son took the name of Carew. From Gerald descended Giraldus, and the noble families of the Geraldines, Fitz-Gerald, Nest's elopement with Owen Cadwgan ap Bleddyn is a circumstance mentioned by many historians. After Gerald's death, Nest was married to Stephen, governor of Cardigan.—*Camden and Warrington*.

he was kindly received the following night at Wern-Newydd, by Einon ap Dafydd Llwyd. To Dafydd ap Ieuan, the earl presented a superb *hirias* (drinking horn) richly mounted on a silver stand; which was afterwards presented to Richard, Earl of Carbery, and may still be seen at Golden Grove, the seat of Lord Cawdor, Carmarthenshire.

"Pride of feasts, profound and blue,
Of the ninth wave's azure hue;
The drink of heroes formed to hold,
Which art enrich'd and lid of Gold."

Sir R. Hoare's Giraldu.

From his hospitable quarters in Cardiganshire, Richmond sallied forth, eager to meet the foe. His route was through Shrewsbury, Newport, Stafford, and Litchfield, to Bosworth; the spot on which Richard III. found that usurped power is never durable, and lost his life in a pitched battle. Richard, with the impetuosity of a tyrant, sensible that his all was at a stake, rushed towards the spot where the earl was stationed, and, according to the poet, braves him to the combat;

"What ho! young Richmond, ho! 'tis Richard calls thee;
I hate thee, Harry, for thy blood of Lancaster!
Now if thou dost not hide thee from my sword,
Now while the angry trumpet sounds alarms,
And dying groans transpierce the wounded air;
Richmond, I say, come forth and singly face me;
Richard is hoarse with daring thee to arms."—*Shakespeare.*

He killed Sir William Brandon and Sir John Cheine with his own hands, and seemed eager to engage Henry personally; when Sir William Stanley, with 3000 men, came to Richmond's aid, the usurper was overpowered and slain, and Henry, amidst blood, slaughter and acclamations of victory, was saluted king. After returning thanks to the supreme disposer of crowns and sceptres, as all other

events, in the field of battle, Henry retired to Leicester, where the crown was conveyed by Lord Strange, and put on his head, and thus invested and inaugurated King of England by the title of Henry the VII.—This battle, which liberated the nation from a tyrant's power, and augured its future prosperity by the termination of civil broils, was fought in Bosworth field, distant three miles from the town of that name. The relics of war, pieces of armour, weapons, arrow-heads of great size, often dug up, designate the spot to exactness. Adjacent is a small mount cast up, from which, previous to the engagement, Richmond addressed his army. Richard's body, naked and despoiled, was trussed behind a pursuivant at arms, and carried like a dog or hog, having his head and arms hanging on one side of the horse, and legs on the other side, all covered with mire and blood, to Leicester, and buried without pomp or ceremony. The above account is given by Polydore Virgil (the last collector of Peter pence in England) and Thomas More: which common humanity would wish not to be literally true. Henry VII., sometime after, caused a monument to be erected over his grave.—Camden, observing what pastime fortune creates for herself out of the miseries of the mighty, relates the terrible vicissitudes experienced by *Cicely*, Dutchess of York. She saw her husband Duke Richard, when sure of a kingdom, and her son the Earl of Rutland, slain together in battle; her eldest son Edward IV. advanced to the throne, and taken away by an untimely death; having before made away his brother George, Duke of Clarence. Lastly, she saw her son Richard forcing his way to the crown by the lamentable murder of his nephews, and the slander of herself his mother, (for he charged her openly with

incontinency); then saw the monarch possessed of the crown and slain in battle.*

Henry the VII. married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. heiress of the York family, and thereby united the houses of York and Lancaster; and intertwined the *red* and *white roses* in one elegant wreath.

Ecce nunc omnes posuere ventem
Murmura, preter zephyrum tepentem,
Hic Rosas nitril, nitidesque flores
Veris a mæni.

Bernardus Andreas.

Saturday was a lucky day to Henry the VII.—Upon that day, being August the 22d, 1485, he conquered in Bosworth field; on that day, August 29th, he entered the city of London; and he acknowledged that he always found it fortunate.—*Bacon's life of Henry.*

When Henry was elevated to the throne of his ancestors, calumny was as active in aspersing his descent, vile and mean, as the politician was scrupulous in scrutinizing his title to the crown as frivolous. His genealogy has already been partly anticipated, and he has been proved a descendant of the house of Lancaster, and heir, maternally, of that royal line of princes, and by his alliance with the eldest daughter of Edward IV., also undoubted heir of the house of York. This should have satisfied the scruples of the statesman.—Slander was also to be silenced: for this charitable purpose,

* The following entry in the register book of Llanmaes, near Cowbridge, Glamorganshire, bespeaks the salubrity of the air, and the longevity of its inhabitants: "Ivan Yorath buried a Saterdaye the 12th day of July, anno domini 1621, et anno regni regis Vicessimo primo annoque ætatis circa 180. He was a sowdjar in the fights of Boswoorth, and lived at Lantwit Major, and he lived much by fishing."—*Carlisle's Top. Dic.*

King Henry issued a commission to several persons in Wales, deeply versed in heraldic lore, to investigate the pedigree of his grandfather Owen Tudor. The commission was executed with that fidelity and accuracy which the subject demanded: the genealogy of Owen, son of Meredydd ap Tudor, was deduced from Ednyfed Fychan, Baron of Brinsfeingle, in Denbighland, Lord of Criciaeth, chief justice and chief of council to Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, Prince of Wales. Ednyfed married Gwentllian,* daughter of Rhys ap Gryffydd, of South Wales, and had several castles in Anglesea, Carnarvonshire, and Denbighshire. The pedigree is then carried up to Coel Clodeboc, King of Britain, from whom Henry VII. descended by male issue, in the 31st degree; and from *Beli* the Great, in the 41st.—The genealogy of *Beli* is then derived from Brutus; and Henry VII. made out to be his descendant in the 100th degree.—The commission then derives Owen Tudor's pedigree from *Beli* the Great by Angharad, mother of Ednyfed Fychan; and also by Gwentllian, wife of Ednyfed; as well as other alliances. As a heap of names are troublesome to the transcriber, and not very entertaining to the reader; suffice it to add, that Henry's descent from Meyric, Lord of Gwent, from Roderic the Great, from Llywelyn ap Gryffydd, the last Prince of Wales, from Cynedda Wledic, from King John of England, and William the Conqueror, is next investigated and proved. Then follows the lineage of Owen Tudor's mother from Coel Clodeboc, *Beli* Mawr, Gryffydd ap Cy

* *Gwentllian*, a name so common among the Welsh women, signifies a fair vestal; from *Gwen*, white, and *Llian*, a vestal or nun.—*Dr. Davies's Lexicon*.

Rowland, in his *Mona Antiqua*, p. 43. derives *Venus* from the British *Gwen*, an abbreviation of *Gwentllian*.—*Vide Pezron's Hist. Nat.* c. 14, 15.

nan, Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, and Cynedda Wledic. This pedigree (consisting of 13 pages in 4to.) thus abridged, may amuse the genealogist and antiquary.—It was abstracted out of the *Chronicles of Wales*, by Sir John Leiaf Priest, Guttin Owen, Gryffydd ap Llewelyn ap Jermy Rychan, Madawc ap Llewelyn ap Howell, Robert ap Howell ap Thomas, John King, with many others, at the king's costs and charges. The Abbot of Llanegwest, and Dr. Owen Pool, Canon of Hereford, overseers.* His calumniators were Johannes Bernardus, Pontus, Heutêrus and others.

Henry VII. was born in Pembroke castle, the residence of Jasper, Earl of Pembroke (the Earl of Richmond's brother), who was divested of all his honours by Edward IV., and succeeded by William Herbert, as Earl of Pembroke, who had rendered Edward great services, particularly against Jasper in Wales.

Though the Welsh had the strongest claim on Henry as a countryman, whose arms had, partly, exalted him to the throne of England, their condition, in a national point of view, was little meliorated in his reign. Though no oppressive statutes were added, those enacted by Henry the IV. and Henry VI. were not repealed, and of themselves sufficiently galling.—The almost unlimited powers of the Lords Marchers were still in full force, and exercised with the greatest severity. Nevertheless, Henry's mild reign and lenient measures, prepared the way for brighter days and more equitable laws. His reign was embittered by two rebellions, raised by Lambert Symnel and Perkin Warbeck, both of whom personated Richard Duke of York; the for-

* Wynne's History of Wales.

mer was made prisoner, in 1487, and the latter, executed in 1499.—Shene, an ancient palace of the kings of England, and the usual nursery of the young princes and princesses, on account of the salubrity of its air, was rebuilt by Henry, and called Richmond, out of compliment to that portion of Yorkshire, called Richmondshire, which gave his father and himself the titles of Earls of Richmond. Here he ended his days, before the favourite structure had been scarcely finished, and was buried in Westminster abbey, in a chapel erected by himself, and called after his own name; termed by Leland *the Miracle of the World*. This chapel, a magnificent specimen of the Florid Gothic, was built in the place of the chapel of our Lady; its exquisite workmanship, profusion of ornament and superb vaulting, stand unparalleled; but some architects of taste and discernment have asserted, that what was gained in beauty in ecclesiastical architecture after the middle of the fifteenth century, was lost in sublimity.—His monument of solid brass, richly gilt, is in a stile correspondent to the splendour of the structure.

This prince was temperate, chaste, and pious; a reprover and corrector of vice: he merited the esteem of all Europe; and would have commanded the gratitude of his Welsh subjects, had he not forgotten their bondage, and consigned their miseries to oblivion on his own exaltation. Covetousness seemed to be his ruling passion. Large sums were amassed in his reign, and squandered in the next. Extortion and oppression have been attributed to him, and he is recorded, to have died immensely rich, and unlamented.*

* In an altar ward, of Pembroke castle, I saw the chaire which

A curious anecdote, respecting one of Henry's adherents, shall close up this reign: When the cruelty and tyranny of Richard III. had determined the oppressed to raise Henry of Richmond to the throne, and, by his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, to unite the houses of York and Lancaster: Mr. Henry Wiat, a gentleman of Kent, was confederate and intrusted in the correspondence between his friends and the earl, and was the courier of several messages. His conduct being suspected, he was arrested and examined, but discharged for want of proof. Soon after, a second accusation was preferred against him, committed to the tower, tortured to extort a discovery, but ineffectually: finding threats, tortures, and fair promises could not prevail, he was cast into a dungeon, and fed with bread and water, and there lay when the Earl of Richmond landed and got the victory. The pittance of provisions allowed him could not have prevented starvation, *had not a cat brought him food daily.* A picture is preserved in the family, wherein a cat is represented creeping in at a grate, with a pigeon in its mouth; with these lines:

Hunc macrum, rigidum, mæstum, fame, frigore, cura,
Pavi, fovi, acui, carne, calore, joco.

This gentleman survived his hard usage, and lived to be created a baronet, for his allegiance and fidelity, and to be of the privy council of Henry the VII. and Henry the VIII.—*Turner's hist. of remarkable providences.*

King Henry VII. was born in, in knowledge of which a chymmeney is now made, with the arms and badges of Henry VII.—*Leland.*

CHAP. XII.

Wales incorporated with England.

ARTHUR, eldest son of Henry VII. was created by his father, *Prince of Wales*; by the usual solemn investiture of conferring the principality, and a patent delivered him in these words: *Tenendus sibi et hæredibus Regibus Angliæ, &c.*—He resided in Ludlow castle; Smyth, Bishop of Litchfield, being then president of Wales. The court of the marches, of the nature of a French parliament, was first established by Edward the IV. at Ludlow. The council assisting the lord president, consisted of the chief justice of Chester, and the three other then existing justices of Wales, a secretary, an attorney, and a solicitor; with a power vested in the president of electing extraordinary members of council. They were allowed six shillings and eight-pence per day, and diet for themselves and their men. This court was confirmed by an act of Henry the VIII.*—The presence of a prince of Arthur's parts, learning and accomplishments, was a means of conciliating the Welsh, and of strengthening the civil power.—Arthur, at an early age, married Catherine of Spain, (commonly called Catherine of Arragon) of which union we have the following account:—"The Prince of Wales made a visit to Oxford, attended by Smyth, chancellor of the university, and others, towards the end of September, 1501. On the sixth of November following, having joined his royal father, the preceding day, he met the Princess Catherine of Spain, at Dogmers-

* Camden and Yorke.

field, near Odiham, in Hampshire, whence, after the first salutations, they went by different routes, the prince to the wardrobe in Blackfriars, the princess to the archbishop's palace, at Lambeth. When preparations were made in the city, under the direction of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, for the solemn entrance of the princess, agreeably to her dignity and to "the old and famous appetites of the English people in welcoming acceptable strangers," she came riding from Lambeth, Friday, November the 12th, through the borough of Southwark, to London bridge; where she was received with a costly pageant of Saint Catherine, Saint Ursula, and a train of virgins. In her procession through the city to London house, other superb pageants were displayed; and the great conduit in Cheap ran with Gasgoin wine, and was furnished with music. The marriage ceremony, on Sunday, 14th November, was performed with great solemnity in Saint Paul's cathedral, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by nineteen bishops. The youthful prince and his bride were arrayed in white satin; and the splendour and magnificence of the nobility and courtiers, vying with each other on this joyous occasion, was beyond all example. Chains of gold were worn of the value of £1000 or £1400. But Sir Nicholas Vaux, afterwards Lord Vaux of Harendon, in Northamptonshire, eclipsed all the company in his robe of purple velvet, richly furred, and plated with gold so thick and massy, that the gold alone was valued at £1000. The dowry* of

* The lordships, castle, town, and county of Cardigan, were given to Catherine of Arragon, as part of her dower.—*Cardiolo*. "A small priory of black monks, cell to the abbey of *Chertsey*, in the county of Surrey," was founded at Cardigan, but the founder's name is not mentioned by Tanner. "The whole revenues of it were rated 26th Henry VIII. at 32*l*. per annum, but clear of reprises at £13 *4s*. 9*d*. only.

the princess was guaranteed to her by the Bishop of London, in conjunction with the two archbishops, the Bishop of Winchester, the Duke of York, Sir Reginald Bray, and others, witnesses to the deed of settlement. In honour of the nuptials, jousts and tournaments were exhibited several days in the large void space before Westminster Hall; and the celebrity concluded with a numerous creation of knights of the bath, and of the sword.*

It was granted, as part of the possessions of Chertsey, to Bisham abbey, 29th Henry VIII. and 31st Henry VIII. to William Cavenish. — *Tan. Not. Mon.* As this small priory stands anonymous as to its founder, may we not suppose its founder to be Margaret, Queen of Henry VI. — Her husband's remains being first buried in the abbey of Chertsey, (of which Cardigan priory was a cell) renders the conjecture probable at least; and Cardigan being a portion of Queen Catherine's dower, on her marriage with Prince Arthur, evinces it to have appertained to the Lancastrian line.

Cardigan priory was the favourite residence of the celebrated Mrs. Catherine Phillips, poetically known by the name of Orinda. — *Cardide.* She was daughter of John Towler of London, and wife of James Phillips. Her poems are extant, as well as a volume of letters, entitled "Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus." Poliarchus was Sir Charles Cotterell. Her death was graced by an elegiac poem from the pen of Cowley. — *Meyrick's Cardiganshire.*

The charter of Cardigan was first granted by Edward I. and confirmed by Henry III. By patent second of Henry VII. he grants to the burgesses of Cardigan, that they and their heirs for ever be free of toll, passage and pontage, and of all customs throughout our whole land. Fourth patent of Richard II. confirms a patent of Edward IV. given at Kidweli ninth of December, thirteenth of his reign. By which the customs of Carmarthen (Caerfyrddin) are confirmed to the burgesses of Cardigan. — Eighth patent of Richard II. The burgesses not to be tried by Welshmen, but English burgesses, and true Englishmen. This proves how much Cardigan was then under English influence and customs, and suffered by the malice of their Welsh neighbours; on which account this patent was granted. Ninth patent of Richard II. county sessions and small sessions to be held in the town of Cardigan. The great sessions to be held in the county of Cardigan, at a place named by the justices of South Wales.

In the year 1188, Lord Rhys entertained Archbishop Baldwin and his retinue, when they came to preach the Crusade in Wales, at the abbey of Saint Dogmael's, and the following day at his own castle of Cardigan.

* Churton's lives of Sir William Smyth and Sir Richard Sutton, &c.

On the conclusion of these gay scenes, Prince Arthur returned to his province in the marches, and died in Ludlow castle, on the second of April, 1502. His funeral was conducted with much mournful pomp, suitable to the universal regret caused by the death of a prince, whose early virtues and accomplishments augured great prosperity to Britain. His corpse was enveloped in cerements, and lay in state for three weeks. On Saint George's day it was removed to the parish church. The Earl of Surrey was principal mourner and his banner was borne before the corpse by Sir *Griffith ap Rice*. When brought into the church, the dirge began; and the Bishops of Lincoln, Salisbury, and Chester, read the three lessons. The mass of requiem was sung on the following morning. "Doctor Edenham, almoner and confessor to the prince, said a noble sermon, and took to his antyteme, "Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord." On Saint Mark's day the procession moved from Ludlow to Bewdley; the corpse was placed in the choir, a dirge and requiem performed; and every church where it rested on its road to Worcester, the place of sepulture, was decorated with escutcheons. On its arrival at Worcester, the corpse was perfumed by an order of friars, and met at the city gate by the bailiffs and corporation. At the entrance of the cemetery, the Bishop of Worcester having now joined the train, the four bishops in rich copes censed the corpse again: it was then borne under a canopy through the choir, to a hearse illuminated with eighteen lights, and elegantly adorned with arms. At dirge were nine lessons, after the custom of that church. The abbots read the first five, and the remaining four by the bishops. A watch was kept that night of lords and knights. At eight in

the morning, the third mass of requiem was sung by the Bishop of Lincoln, and the customary offering made. "But to have seen the weeping," (as Mr. Churton, from his ancient documents, proceeds) when the offering was done, he had a hard heart that wept not." The sermon by a "noble Doctor" followed. After this the corpse was again perfumed by all the prelates; and then "with weeping and sore lamentation it was laid in the grave," at the south end of the high altar. "The orisons were said by the Bishop of Lincoln, all sore weeping. He set the cross over the chest, and cast holye water and earth thereon." The comptroller of the prince's household, his steward, and others, brake their staves of office, and cast them into the grave. And "thus," concludes the narrative, "God have mercye on good Prince Arthur's soule."

An account of the ceremonials attendant on the marriage and interment of a prince, the darling of the nation; a narration of an interesting period "the boundary between light and darkness, between the gloom, the ignorance, and the superstition of a most ferocious age, and the revival of learning, and the light of the Reformation,"* will be a sufficient apology for this long quotation.—Upon the prince's death† his titles reverted to the crown: Henry Duke of

* Churton.

† "In one of the state apartments of the castle at Ludlow the arms of Prince Arthur were "excellently wrought," in a superb escutcheon of stone; and there was an empalement of Saint Andrew's cross, with Prince Arthur's arms, painted in one of the windows of the hall. His arms, two red lions and two golden lions, were also in another chamber, with the arms of North Wales and South Wales. And in the chapel, which was "most trim and costly," the arms of Smyth, and other lords presidents were "gallantly and cunningly set out.—Churton, p. 193. There were lieutenants and wardens of the marches (prior to the court of Ludlow) appointed immediately on the establishment of lordships marchers.—Camden and Warrington.

York was made Prince of Wales, and Smyth continued president of the court of the marches, an office which he held till his death.

Henry VIII. the second, but only surviving son of Henry VII. by Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. succeeded his father in 1509. The commencement of his reign was a presage of his greatness of mind, and future auspicious government. The general pardon, granted by his father, was confirmed; a proclamation issued, declaring his readiness to restore to his subjects any goods unjustly taken, or sums illegally extorted, under colour of levying forfeitures, in the last reign. The inferior agents of Empsom and Dudley (the instruments of Henry the seventh's rapacity) were put in the pillory, and knocked on the head by the rabble. Soon after, Empsom and Dudley were convicted, and executed as traitors. He first married the Princess Catherine, of Arragon, his brother Arthur's widow, by whom he had issue two sons. Henry, and another not named, who died young, and a daughter, named Mary, afterwards queen, and well known by the epithet of bloody Mary.

Henry was as profuse, as his father had been parsimonious. His bravery, candour, and liberality, were tarnished by his cruelty, haughtiness, and lust. His acquirements in divinity, philosophy, and music, were far from being contemptible; mediocrity, in any undertaking, suited not his impetuous, turbulent disposition. Restrained by no obstacles, awed by no superior powers, no, not by the fulmination of the Vatican, he accomplished what a prince of milder virtues and less violence, would have found impracticable—the union of Wales, and the glorious Reformation. Had the last event been conducted with moderation, discri-

mination and caution; had a better provision been made for benefices appropriated to monasteries; had the valuable books, chronicles,* registers relating to religious houses and estates, the history and antiquities of the nation in general, been religiously preserved; it would have formed a proud epocha in British history, and ranked Henry VIII. among the greatest princes.

The Lords Marchers were at one time twenty-one in number, of whom much has been already said. They sat among the English lords, deriving their titles from the baronies they had won from the Welsh. They had originally regal jurisdiction, where the king's writs did not run. Edward I. by the statute of Rhuddlan† withdrew the privilege of establishing more Lordships Marchers by con-

* It is not sufficiently known that Sir John Price, author of the defence of the British History against Polydore Vergil, was one of the commissioners employed by Henry VIII. to survey the monasteries that were to be dissolved, and consequently had the best opportunities of investigating and understanding the history of the ancient Britons. The *Topography of Wales*, afterwards improved by the profound scholar and antiquary Humphrey Llwyd, was also his production. Sir John also assisted his friend Leland in his *Assertio Arthurii*. He was a Brecknockshire man, a doctor of both laws, and one of the king's counsel in the court of marches. Mr. Morris regrets, that he had not more carefully perused the British copy of *Tyssyllo*, which would have qualified him for a better defence. He lamented also his slight knowledge of our ancient British bards, who best knew the use of words, whose works were the root and foundation of the ancient British history; the history of the origin of most nations being on the same footing.—*Yorke*.

† The territory of Wales on the conquest by Edward I., was re-annexed (by a kind of feudal resumption) to the dominion of the crown of England, as the statute of Rhuddlan expresses it: "terra Walliæ cum incolis suis, prius regi jure feodali subiecta (of which homage was the sign) jam in proprietatis dominum totaliter et cum integritate conversa est, et coronæ regni Angliæ tanquam pars corporis ejusdem annexa et unita." By the statute of Wales, 12th Edward I. very material alterations were made in divers parts of their laws, so as to reduce them nearer to the English standard, though they retained much of their original polity.—*Blackstone*.

quest and the sword: but it remained for Henry the VIII. to reduce entirely their overgrown influence and authority. Many of these baronies had fallen to the crown from purchase, inheritance, or forfeiture,* and an act of parliament, for abridging the power of those still remaining, was passed in the 27th Henry VIII. cap. 5. anno domini 1536, which runs thus, "Whereas many robberies, murders, and other evil practices have been daily committed in the county palatine of Chester, and Flintshire, in Wales, and also in Anglesea, Caernarvon, Merioneth, Cardigan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Glamorgan; because justice is not administered there in such form as in other places of this realm: for the remedy of this, it is enacted, that the Lord Chancellor of England, or keeper of the great seal, shall nominate and appoint justices of the peace, justices of the quorum, and justices of the gaol delivery in the said counties, and that they shall have like power and authority as those of England." Prior to this statute, it was customary with offenders to avoid the punishment due to their crimes, to retire from one Lordship Marcher to another; (a custom at this day, similar in every respect, prevails in the states of America) which mode of evading justice is hereby prevented, and the Welsh admitted to a thorough participation of the laws of England, and gradually conquered into the enjoyment of true liberty.

The more we investigate the rigour, oppression, and rapacity of the petty potentates, the Lords of the marches, the more arbitrary will their power appear, and the more despotic their government. An act passed 27th Henry VIII. cap. 7., at the same

* Yorke.

time, that it restrains another source of tyranny, describes glaringly the tyranny itself: "Whereas, in Wales, and in the marches, there are many forests belonging either to the king, or to the Lords Marchers, wherein sundry actions have been committed for a long time, contrary to the law of God and man; insomuch, that if any person entered the said forests without a *token* given him by any of the foresters, as a license to pass, or unless he was a yearly *tributer* or *chenser*, he was bound to pay a grievous fine; and if he should chance to be twenty-four feet out of the highway, he was then to forfeit all the gold or money which was found on his person, and likewise a *joint of one of his hands*, unless he was fined for the offence at the discretion of the forester, or farmer of the same. And whereas, likewise, if any cattle strayed into the said forests, it was the custom of the foresters to mark them for their own, with the mark of the forest."—The records of barbarism cannot shew a more heavy penalty, for a trifling offence, than *forfeiting a joint of the hand* for deviating a number of feet from the highway. By this statute, persons were permitted to pass through these forests with impunity, and claim their strayed cattle within a year and a day, and have them restored on paying for the herbage.

The *jura regalia* vested in these lords and counties palatine, were next taken away by another act, to this effect: "Whereas, by the gifts of the kings of England, many of the most ancient prerogatives and authorities of justice, appertaining to the imperial crown of this realm, have been severed and taken from the same; it was then enacted, that no person should have power and authority to pardon or remit treasons, murders, manslaughters, or any felonies, or their accessaries in any part of England,

Wales, or in the marches of the same; that, likewise, no person should make justices of peace, or justices of gaol-delivery; but they should, in future, be made only by the king's letters patent: and that all original writs, judicial writs, and all manner of indictments for treason, felony, and trespass, and all manner of process should be only made in the king's name; and that offences committed against the peace, should be considered as an offence committed against the king, and not against the peace of any other person." By this statute, Henry resumed all or most of the jurisdictions that were left, and deprived these potent lords of the same, leaving them in effect but as lords of manors in England.—Notwithstanding these salutary acts, which did honour to Henry's humanity, judgment, impartiality and justice; though their effects must have been as extensive as they were decisive; still the Cambro-Britons were regarded a distinct nation, their persons derided, their manners and habits ridiculed, their language esteemed barbarous, and their valor and spirit of independence termed obstinacy and rebellion. Alive to the generous feelings of humanity, galled by opprobrious epithets, the Welsh, much to their honour, solicited that the invidious line of distinction between them and the English, might be removed, and thereby set them on an equitable basis with his other subjects. The petition, memorable for its just claims, nervous language, and manly spirit, was to this purport:

" May it please your Highness,"

" We, on the part of your Highness's subjects, inhabiting that portion of the island which our invaders first called Wales, most humbly prostrate at your Highness's feet, do crave to be received and adopted into the same laws, and privileges, which your other subjects enjoy: Neither shall it hinder us, (we hope) that we have lived so long under our own. For as they were both enacted by au-

thority of our ancient law-givers, and obeyed for many succession of ages; we trust your Highness will pardon us, if we thought it neither easy or safe so suddenly to relinquish them. We shall not presume yet to compare them with *these* now used, and less shall we contest how good and equal in themselves they are. Only if the defence of them and our liberty against the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, for so many hundred years, and lastly against the Normans, as long as they pretended no title but the sword, was thought just and honorable; we presume it will not be infamous now; and that all the marks of rebellion and falsehood, which our revilers would fasten on us, will fall on any, sooner than those who fought for so many years, and with so different nations, for our just defence: Which also is so true, that our best historians affirm the Christian religion to have been preserved only by us for many years that the Saxons (being heathens) either attempted or possessed this country. May your Highness then graciously interpret our actions, while we did but that duty which your Highness would have now done by all your subjects on like occasion; for when any should invade this country henceforth, we know your Highness would have us to behave no otherwise. Besides, had not the assailers found some resistance, *they might have despised a country, that brought none forth able enough to assert it*; so that we crave pardon, sir, if we say it was fit for the honour of your dominions that some part *should never be conquered*. We then in the name of whatsoever in your Highness's possession hath in any age held out against all invaders, do here voluntarily resign, and humble ourselves to that sovereignty, which we acknowledge so well invested in your Highness. Nor is this the first time; we have always attended on occasion to unite ourselves to the greater and better part of the island. But as the kings of this realm, weary of their attempts in person against us, did formerly give not only our country to those who could conquer it, but permitted them *jura regalia*, within their several precincts, so it was impossible to come to an agreement, while so many that undertook this work, usurped martial and absolute power and jurisdiction in all they acquired, without establishing any equal justice. And that all offenders flying from one Lordship Marcher (for so they were called) to another, did both avoid the punishment of the law, and easily commit those robberies, which formerly tainted the honour of our parts. So that until the rigorous laws, not only of the several conquerors of England, but the attempters on our parts, were brought to an equal moderation, no union, how muchsoever affected by us, could ensue. Therefore, and not sooner, we submitted ourselves to Edward I., a prince, who made both many and equal laws than any before him; therefore we defended his son Edward II., when not only the English forsook him, but ourselves might have recovered our former liberty, had we desired it. Therefore we got victories for Edward III. and stood firm during all the dissensions of this realm to his grandchild and successor Richard II.—Only if some amongst us resisted Henry IV., your Highness may better suppose the reason than we tell it, though divers foreigners openly refusing to treat with him as a sovereign and a lawful prince, have sufficiently published it. We did not yet de-

cline a due obedience to Henry V., though in doubtful times, we cannot deny, but many refractory persons have appeared. Howsoever, we never joined ourselves with the English rebels, or took occasion thereby to recover our liberty, though in Richard the second's time, and during all the civil wars betwixt Lancaster and York, much occasion was given. For adhering to the house of York, which we conceive the better title, we conserved our devotion still to the crown, until your Highness's father's time, who (bearing his name and blood from us) was the more cheerfully assisted by our predecessors in his title to the crown, which your Highness doth now enjoy. And thus, sir, if we gave anciently proof of a generous courage in defending our laws and country, we have given no less proof of a loyal fidelity since we first rendered ourselves. In so much, that we may truly affirm, that after our acceptance of the condition given us by Edward I., we have omitted no occasion of performing the duty of loving subjects. Neither is there any thing that comforts us more, than that all those controversies about succession (which so long wasted this land) are determined in your Highness's person, in whom we acknowledge both houses to be happily united.

To your Highness, therefore, we offer all obedience, desiring only that we may be defended against the insults of our malignant censurers: for we are not the offspring of the run-away Britons, (as they term us) but natives of a country, which besides defending itself, received all those who came to us for succours. Give us then, (sir) permission to say, that they wrong us much, who pretend our country was not inhabited before them, or that it failed in a due piety, when it was so hospitable to all that fled thither for refuge: which will also be more credible, when it shall be remembered, that even our highest mountains furnish good beef and mutton, not only to all the inhabitants, but supply England in great quantity. We humbly beseech your Highness therefore, that this note may be taken from us. As for our language, though it seem harsh, it is that yet which was spoken anciently, not only in this island, but in France: some dialects whereof therefore remain still among the *Bas-Bretons* there, and here in Cornwall. Neither will any man doubt it, when he shall find those words of the ancient Gaulish language repeated by the Latin authors, to signify the same thing amongst us at this day; Nor shall it be a disparagement (we hope) that it is spoken so much in the throat, since the Florentine and Spaniard affect this kind of pronunciation, as believing words that sound so deep proceed from the heart. So that if we have retained this language longer than the more northern inhabitants of this island (whose speech appears manifestly a kind of English, and consequently introduced by the Saxons) we hope it will be no imputation to us; your Highness will have but the more *tongues** to serve you: it shall not hinder us to study English, when

* And here now we cannot but much admire and celebrate the Divine goodness toward our Britons, the posterity of Gomer; who, though they have been conquered and triumphed over successively by the Romans, Saxons, and Normans; yet hitherto they enjoy the true name of their ancestors, and have preserved entire their primitive language, although the Normans set themselves to abolish it, making express laws to that purpose. The reply of that old gentleman of Wales was not

it were but to learn how we might the better serve and obey your Highness: to whose laws we most humbly desire again to be adopted; and doubt not but if in all countries the mountains have afforded as eminent wits and spirits as any other part, ours also, by your Highness's good favour and employment, may receive that esteem."

The Welsh, by this spirited, yet submissive petition, made the *amende honourable*; the bluff monarch acknowledged their loyalty, recognised their just claim, and with the soundest policy united a refractory nation to English dominion, by a statute enacted in the 27th year of his reign; to this effect: "That as the dominion, principality and country of Wales is a member and part of the temporal crown of this realm, whereof, therefore, the king is head and ruler; yet, as it hath divers rights, usages, laws and customs, very different from the laws and customs of this realm, and because the language of that country is different from that which is spoken here, and that many rude people hereupon have made distinction and diversity betwixt his Highness's other subjects, and them, to the causing of much discord and sedition; his Highness, therefore, out of his love and favour to his subjects of Wales, and for reducing them to his laws, doth, by advice and consent of his parliament, ordain and enact, that Wales shall be united and incorporated henceforth to and with his realm of England; and that his subjects in Wales shall enjoy and inherit all singular freedoms, liberties, rights, privileges and

impertinent, who being asked by Henry II. what he thought of the strength of the Welsh, and of his royal expedition against them, made his answer in these words: "This nation may suffer much, and may be in a great measure ruined, or at least very much weakened, great sir, by your present and other future attempts, as well as formerly it hath often been; but we assure ourselves, that it will never be wholly ruined by the anger or power of any mortal man, unless the anger of heaven concur to its destruction. Nor (whatever changes may happen as to the other parts of the world) can I believe that any other nation or language besides the Welsh, shall answer at the last day for the greater part of this corner of the world."---*Cam. first Inhabitants*, p. 26.

Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere Vetustas.---Ovid.

laws, which his Highness's subjects elsewhere enjoy and inherit. And, therefore, that inheritances shall descend after the manner of England, without division and partition, and not after any tenure or form of Welsh laws or customs. And forasmuch as there are divers Lordships Marchers within the said country or dominion of Wales, being no parcel of any other shires where the laws and due correction is used and had, and that, in them and the countries adjoining, manifold murders, robberies, felonies, and the like, have been done, contrary to all law and justice, because the offenders, making their refuge from one Lordship Marcher to another, were continued without punishment and correction: therefore it is enacted, that the said Lordships Marchers shall be united, annexed, and joined to divers shires specified in the said act.*

* Warrington's Wales; from Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *History of Henry the eighth's reign*.—Lord Herbert was great grandson of Sir Richard Herbert, of Cold Brook, who was beheaded with his brother the Earl of Pembroke, after the defeat at Banbury. His usual residence was at Saint Julian's, in Monmouthshire. In his early youth, he spent some time, with a view of acquiring the Welsh language, at Mr. Thelwalls, of Plas-y-ward, in the vale of Clwyd, Denbighshire. It is to be regretted that his lucubrations were not solely confined to history; "In one point of view, we observe him, says Mr. Coxe, like the Knight of La Mancha, fighting with windmills, redressing the wrongs of distressed damsels, and risking his life to wrest a lady's topknot from the rude hands of a despoiler; at other times we discern the same man devoted to a life of retirement, and with equal spirit cultivating philosophy, history, and poetry." His works are a sad farrago of inconsistencies; and he is very justly termed by Mr. Yorke; "the historical, the philosophical, the right whimsical peer, a man at once and together, the negotiator, the scholar, statesman, soldier, the genius and absurdity of his time and nation."

"Having finished his treatise *De Veritate*, he hesitated whether he should suspend the publication. Being, he says, thus doubtful in my chamber, one fair day, my casement being opened towards the south, the sun shining and no wind stirring, I took my book *De Veritate*, in my hand, and kneeling on my knees devoutly, said these words, "O thou eternal God, author of the light which now shines upon me, and giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech thee of thy infinite

This salutary statute was immediately put in execution; the Welsh were put on the same footing and made fellow-citizens with their conquerors; and Henry is observed to have practised the same generous method of triumph exercised by the Republic of Rome itself, by admitting the vanquished provinces to partake of the Roman privileges. The effects accruing from it were immediate and permanent, which the experience of so many centuries evince. So that it may be most justly said:

“*Periissemus, nisi periissemus.*”

The statute 34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 26. confirms the last cited act, and adds further regulations, divides Wales into twelve counties, (cribbing Monmouthshire to England) reduces it into the present order, differing from England in a few peculiarities, deemed privileges, such as having courts within itself, independent of the process of Westminster Hall, and other particulars adapted to its locality, as many of the English counties possess.

goodness to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make: I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book *De Veritate*: If it be for thy glory, I beseech thee give me some sign from heaven; if not, I shall suppress it.” I had no sooner spoken these words, but a loud, though yet gentle voice came from the heavens (for it was like nothing on earth) which did so comfort and cheer me, that I took my petition as granted. and that I had the sign I demanded; whereupon also I resolved to print my book: this (how strange soever it may seem) I protest before the eternal God is true; neither am I any way superstitiously deceived herein, since I did not only clearly hear the voice, but in the serenest sky I ever saw, being without a cloud, did to *my thinking* see the place from whence it came. And now I sent my book to be printed in Paris.”—*Coxe and Yorke.*

The book *De Veritate*, (in Latin as the title specifies) was intended to disprove the necessity of a Divine revelation, and ineffectually endeavours to prove that the human mind is capable of discovering the great rules of morality, and a future state of retribution. Lord Herbert's own life was the best comment on this book. As to his feigned sign, scepticism and credulity are always in close alliance, and as inventive as superstition.

It must be observed, that in South Wales, Glamorgan and Pembroke were made counties so early as Henry I. on his importation of the Flemings into those parts; and the introduction of the common law of England. The four ancient counties of North Wales were Anglesea, Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Flint. Those of South Wales, Cardigan and Carmarthen. The six last are supposed to have existed since Edward first's time. Henry VIII. formed the new counties of Monmouth, Denbigh, Montgomery, Brecknock, and Radnor.—Justices of assize, justices of the peace, sheriffs and other officers were then appointed; at first, four judges only were fixed for the whole principality, the puisne judges were added by Queen Elizabeth. Eight justices of the peace were allowed by Henry to each county.

The court of the marches, at Ludlow, only survived these regulations:—In this court, pleas of debt or damages, not above the value of £50, were tried and determined; if the council of the marches held plea for debts above that sum, &c. a prohibition might be awarded.* When it flourished without restraint, as many causes were dispatched in this court, as in any court in England, or more, in a term. And Mr. Lewis, as cited by Yorke, says, that he had himself moved, in an afternoon, above twenty causes; and that the chancellor for all the motions and pleadings in one cause, in one term, had but five shillings fee.

Sir John Wynne, of Gwydir, baronet, no ordinary character, as a statesman and historian, in 1645, incurred the displeasure of the court of the

* Jacob's Law Dictionary.

marches. The charge (unjustly preferred against him, as he alledges himself) was procuring a petty riot, and for entering into lands, of which he was the king's farmer. Lord Chancellor. Ellesmere decreed him as unfit to be a member thereof, and that his name should not remain in the commission for Carnarvonshire. The court of King James I. was not unsullied, and Sir John made his peace by the sure means of that moment, as appears by the following contract, as given by Mr. Yorke:—

M'd.

“ Yf Mr. Bernard Lyndesey, esquier, groom to his Majesties bedchamber, procure a pardon for Sir John Wyna, knight and baronet, and some of his servants of their fynes and offences inflicted upon them by the counsell of the marches, upon the sealing of the said pardon he is to receive from Richard Wynn, esquier, sonne and heire to the said John Wynn, the somme of *three hundred and fifty pounds*. In witness of this agreement between us, we have both sette our hands the sixteenth of January, 1615.

B. LYNDESEY,
RICH. WYNN.

Signed in the presence of me,

AMB. THELWALL,

It is to Sir Henry Sidney, president of the court of the marches, we are indebted for our history of Wales. *Brut y Brenhinoedd*; our most ancient history begins with the Trojan war, and ends with the reign of Cadwaladr. Its author is supposed to have been Tyssyllo, a bishop, son of Brochwel Ysgythrog; but he seems to have been only the continuator of it, from the Roman conquest to his own time; about the year 660, continued afterwards to the death of Cadwaladr by another hand. It has been miserably mangled by Geoffrey of Monmouth; and the objections of antiquaries and historians arose from perusing a bad translation, instead of the original. Caradoc of Llancarfan con-

tinued the history to 1156. The monks of Conway, and Strata Florida pursued it to 1270, but declined the melancholy relation of the death of Llewelyn, and the conquest of their country. This part was completed by Humphrey Llwyd, assisted by the collections of Guttyn Owen, Matthew Paris, and Nicholas Trivet. The history so completed, he translated into English, but died before he published; and it was left in the hands of Sir H. Sidney, who advised Dr. Powel to augment and print it; which he did, and dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, the son of Sir Henry, in 1584.

* Vide Yorke 48, and Sir John Price's *Defensio Historiæ Britannicæ*, against Polydore Vergil; on whose veracity we have this epigram:—

“Virgilii duo sunt: Alter Maro, tu Polydore
Alter; tu mendax, ille Poeta fuit.—Owen.

Polydore Vergil, a native of Urbino in Italy, was sent into England by Alexander VI. to collect the tribute called Peter Pence. He was first rector of church Langton, in Leicestershire, in 1507 presented to the archdeaconry of Wells, and prebend of Nonnington, in the church of Hereford; and was in the same year collated to the prebend of Scamelsby, in the church of Lincoln, which he resigned for the P. of Osgate, in that of Saint Paul. His History of England is not much valued, as Baile rightly observes. Truth and fair dealing he was a stranger to. John Caius mentions it as a thing “not only reported, but even certainly known, that P. V. to prevent the discovery of the faults in his history, most wickedly committed as many of our ancient M. S. Histories to the flames as a waggon could hold.”

Nichols's History and Antiquities of Leicestershire.

The Cambro British annals have suffered the most violent abuse from the English, French and Dutch, owing to Geoffrey's fabulous and florid paraphrase, in which are inserted all the monkish tales he could collect. As to the tradition so widely spread and credited respecting Brutus, Owen's epigram, addressed to Camden, is no bad answer to gainsayers:—

“Comburi possunt libri, monumenta perire;
Nostra mori possunt, et tua scripta mori:
Imita sed genti, dum Gens erit ipsa superstes,
Traditio vivæ vim quasi vocis habet.—Owen.

Vide Dr. Davies's preface to his *Lexicon*; Llwyd's church government of Britain; Sir John Price's *Defensio Historiæ Britannicæ*; Dr. Powel's *Epistole de Brit. Historia recte intelligenda*.

Egerton, Baron of Ellesmere, Viscount Brackley, and Earl of Bridgewater, was president of the court of the marches in the reign of Charles the 1.

"A noble Peer of mickle trust and power,
Has in his charge, with tempered awe to guide
An old, and haughty nation proud in arms."—Mask.

During his presidency, Milton's most sublime composition, the *Mask*, was presented in Ludlow castle, on Michaelmas night, 1634. The occasion of the piece seemeth to have been merely an accident of the two sons and daughter of the earl's losing one another in their way to the castle. The chief dramatis personæ were: the two brothers, by Lord Brackley and Mr. Thomas Egerton, and the lady by Lady Alice Egerton: Mr. H. Laws played the part of the attendant spirit, who also composed the music.

The court of the marches, the last relique appertaining to the name always odious to the Welsh, *Barones Marchiæ*, was dissolved at the Revolution.

CHAP. XIII.

A Short Sketch of the State of Wales since its Union with England.

FROM the annexation of the principality of Wales to the crown and realm of England, the parent and prototype of a closer union since effected, the ancient Britons, even in the most turbulent times, have been as memorable for their allegiance, as they had before been tenacious of their rights. Proof against the plausible, yet delusive tenets of republicanism, we shall find them, in the perilous

reign of the first Charles, impenetrable to its impositions, brave in defence of that unhappy monarch, ever loyal; ever sincere.—In a more recent revolution, in which Great Britain was necessitated to act a most conspicuous, decisive and successful part; when politics had rendered all Europe mad with insubordination and levelling principles, Wales still remained firm at her post, and shed its best blood in crushing democracy and subduing tyranny.

Unfortunately, the documents remaining with regard to Welsh operations in the great rebellion, are very scant.—Lord Clarendon, the great historian of that period, has deigned to leave us little or no information of what passed in this sequestered nook: The little in existence is much to its credit.—The Welsh gentry very soon discovered a predilection for the cause of royalty, however vilified and traduced; many regiments of infantry, commanded by persons of distinction, were raised for the king's cause before the unfortunate affair of Edgehill. The Marquis of Hertford drew out of Wales to Oxford near two thousand men, leaving the principality to be guarded by the fidelity and courage of its own gentry and inhabitants; and the whole was so well devoted to the king's interest at one time, that a seaport town or two in Pembroke-shire were only marked for disloyalty, and those not named. The parliament got an early footing in that county, many of the principal gentlemen had declared for them, and Milford-Haven afforded their fleet every advantage of supplying them with arms and ammunition. To remedy an evil which menaced much against the royal cause, Lord Herbert, son of the Marquis of Worcester, was appointed lieutenant general of South Wales, in whose commission Monmouthshire was included. Lord

Herbert, though his loyalty was unimpeachable; and rather a popular man, yet his military knowledge and experience were inadequate to the post assigned him; he was besides a papist, and did not pay that respect to the Marquis of Hertford, his superior in command. Notwithstanding these objections, Lord Herbert, continued in command for sometime, and with incredible expedition raised an army of 1500 foot and 500 horse, well equipped, at the enormous expense of three score thousand pounds; his father being reputed the most opulent man in the kingdom. With this army he marched towards Gloucester, and after a slight skirmish with the rabble at Coleford in the forest of Dean, he quartered at the Vineyard (the Bishop of Gloucester's palace) and blocked up the city on the west side, which Prince Maurice effectually accomplished on the other. He was surprised, or at least his army under the command of Colonel Brett, by Sir William Waller, and surrendered without striking a blow. Lord Herbert was at this time at Oxford; and Lord John Somerset at some distance from the army; so that the surrender was construed by the enemy into a stratagem, that they could hardly conceive them to be in earnest.

Had the sum expended in raising this army, been sent into the king's treasury at Oxford, Lord Clarendon was perswaded, the war might have been terminated that very summer.—In 1643, we find Sir William Vavasour, commander of all the forces in South Wales. The aversion of the Welsh to Lord Herbert being so evident, that he declined the command, or at least dissembled it. Many regiments being ordered to return to their posts; the Welsh were also enjoined to defend their country against the incursions from Gloucester: and to

reduce some towns in Pembrokeshire, which the malecontents began to fortify, aided by the parliamentary fleet. The rest of Wales was well affected to the king. The inhabitants of North Wales were no less eminent for their cordiality to the king, and in arming themselves for his cause. His majesty and army, while quartered at Shrewsbury, were well supplied with excellent provisions from that part of the principality. Lord Capel was constituted lieutenant general of Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales; who quickly united those parts in a friendly association, and raised a body of horse and foot. The officers and men composing this army, have had all due eulogiums paid to their skill, intrepidity, and sobriety; the struggles they had to encounter were almost insurmountable: to raise men without money, to arm them without weapons, and to keep them together without pay; so that many well affected to the cause, in all parts of the realm, were induced to remember the privations and forget the quarrel, and as they felt the burthen to decline in loyalty. This small body so harassed Sir William Bruerton at Nantwich, that the garrison of Chester had leisure to enlarge its quarters. Sir William, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Myddelton, of Chirk castle, took the castle of Holt in 1643. Holt was defended vigorously at one time by Sir Richard Lloyd, against General Mytton, but without effect. Sir Thomas was a distinguished character in the commonwealth, was major general of the forces in North Wales. In 1644, he relieved Oswestry, and defeated the king's forces in a sharp action at Montgomery, for which he received the thanks of parliament; but in 1648 we find him among the secluded members, and bound not to disturb the

government, under a penalty of £20,000. He lived, however, long enough to be convinced of the delusions of democracy, and to make a good cavalier. Before the close of that unnatural contest, which cost the nation above nine hundred thousand lives, to set the monster Cromwell (the prototype of Bonaparte) on the throne of the Stuarts, Sir Thomas Myddelton united his interest and strength with Sir George Booth, a Cheshire gentleman, who had promised to possess himself of the city and castle of Chester. An acquisition, this to the royal cause, as they were both eminent for their wealth and influence. Sir Thomas is censured for declaring too precipitately for Charles II., before he had fortified his castle of Chirk in a manner adequate to the hostile visit it soon experienced from Lambert. Their joint attack on Chester was successful; but instead of concentrating their force in the city which they had seized, they marched against Lambert, and after a short rencounter, were totally defeated; Lambert entered Chester on the next day triumphantly; Sir George, though disguised, was made prisoner and sent to the tower; Sir Thomas with his troops retired to Chirk. Lambert prosecuted the advantage he had obtained, marched into North Wales, and laid siege to Chirk castle, which he took, demolished one side of it, cut down the trees in the park, and sold them. Clarendon terms the opposition made to Lambert's attack, a day or two's *shew of resistance*; but qualifies the unwilling reproach, by observing, it was to no purpose for one man to oppose the whole kingdom, where all other persons appeared subdued. Made a baronet at the restoration.

The castle of Beaumaris is celebrated for holding out against the republican troops. Sir Rowland

Villeville, alias Brittainne, the reputed natural son of Henry VII., was the last constable of it, till the unhappy times caused it to be garrisoned in 1641, when Thomas Cheadle, deputy to the Earl of Dorset, then constable, put into it men and ammunition. He was succeeded in his post in 1643, by Lord Bulkeley, whose valorous son, Colonel Richard Bulkeley, and many gentlemen of the country, defended and held it for the king till June 1646, when it surrendered on honourable terms to General Mytton, who appointed Captain Evans, his deputy governor.* In 1653, the annual expense of the garrison was £1703.—Carnarvon castle, so eminent in the Welsh records, was besieged in this rebellion, and obliged to surrender to the parliamentary forces, in the beginning of June, 1646. The gallant Marquis of Uxbridge, who signalized himself so conspicuously in the battle of Waterloo, is the present governor, and always mayor by virtue of his patent.—Denbigh castle was honoured with Charles the first's presence, for three days, in 1646, where he stayed to refresh his troops. In the same year it was delivered up to the parliament army; being a fortress of such strength, it was thought adviseable, at the restoration, to blow it up.

Flint castle was dismantled in 1647; but whether by the royalists or the rebels, is uncertain.—The castle of Rhuddlan; in the same county, was dismantled by the order of parliament, in the year 1646.

The old mansion, called Gwasanau, in the county of Flint, (belonging to the Davies's) was garrisoned in the civil wars of this time for the king, but taken by the parliament general, Sir William Brereton.

* Vide Beaumaris Bay, a Poem.

lon, or Breerton. *Gwasanaw* is supposed to be a corruption of *Hosannaak*, allusive to the *Victoria Alleluatica*, gained on *Maes-Garmon*, in 420, beneath the house. The story is well authenticated and as well known. To commemorate which, a pyramidal stone column was erected on the spot in the year 1736, by Nathaniel Griffith, esquire, of Rhual, which bears the following inscription:—

Ad annum

QCCCXX.

Saxones Pictique bellum adversus

Britones junctis viribus susceperunt

In hac regione, hodieque Maes Garmon

Appellata; Cum in prælium descenditur,

Apostolicis Britonum Ducibus Germano

Et Lupo, Christus militavit in Castris;

Alleluia tertio repetitum exclamabant,

Hodie agmen terrore prosternitur;

Triumphant

Hostibus fuscis sine sanguine;

Palma fide non viribus obtenta.

M. P.

In Victorie Alleluaticæ memoriam.

N. G.

MDCCXXXVI.

The castle of Montgomery was considerably impaired in this rebellion, and has been since in ruins:—Hawarden castle also suffered the usual vicissitudes of fortune; and on the 22d of December, 1645, was, by a vote of parliament, ordered to be dismantled.

To return to South Wales: Charles Gerard commanded in this part of the principality, as general under Prince Rupert, with great valor and success. His conduct was judicious, but a passi-

onate and unskilful manager of the affections of the people; rigorous towards the inferior class; uncourteous to the gentry, uncivil to all, which in the end caused him to be removed from the command, and content himself with a coronet. While in command his victories were many; he signalized himself in several actions, at Cardiff, Cydweli, and Carmarthen, took the castles of Cardigan, Emlyn, Laugharne, and Roche; also Haverfordwest, with the castles of Picton and Carew. The king, in 1645, marched from Hereford to Abergavenny to meet the commissioners for South Wales. These were gentlemen of quality and fortune, eminent for loyalty and affection from the commencement of the war, had recruited many regiments for the king's army, officered by their sons and relations, many of whom had bravely fallen in the field. They now made as ample professions as ever. Confident that an army of foot might be soon levied, by making a requisition out of every county, his majesty remained in Ragland castle to wait the issue of these protestations. A short time convinced him that either the continual successes of the parliament forces, or Gerard's mismanagement had alienated their affections; that little probability of raising an army in these parts existed, where all grew less affected or more terrified—causes productive of similar effects. Here news was received by his majesty, that Fairfax, after the taking of Leicester, had marched to the west. Upon which, Gerard was ordered to send what troops were ready, and those under his own command, to join Prince Rupert at Bristol. After this arrangement the king marched to Chepstow, and from thence to Cardiff, from which place he wrote a letter to Prince Rupert, entreating him not to enter into any treaties with the rebels. Here

he was informed that the Scottish army had besieged Hereford, which, if not relieved within a month, must have inevitably surrendered. To prevent this, the sheriffs were directed to summon their posse comitatus; but the expedient failed of success; the discontented gentry, having legally convened the power of those counties, reminded them of the injuries they had received from General Gerard, and the intolerable exaction they lay under, which his continuance in command would only increase: so that instead of providing men to march with the king, they presented a long list of grievances, praying relief. A body of 4000 men, thus collected, urged their demand so earnestly, that the king complied. Gerard was removed, and the command conferred on Lord Astley; to whom as much obedience was paid, as the distraction of the times and a train of ill successes could expect.—To appease Gerard's imperious, ambitious mind, irritated by degradation, would have been impossible; had not his majesty created him a baron.—From Cardiff the king marched to Brecon, whence he dispatched a letter to the Prince of Wales, dated 5th August, 1645, advising him, when in apparent danger of falling into the rebels' hands, to withdraw himself into France.—With the intention of going to Scotland, to the Marquis of Montrose, the king went to Radnor. Near Presteigne is a place called the *King's turning*, meaning as is generally imagined, *King Charles' turning*; an old register of the parish contains the following note:—"In the time of Oliver Cromwell, Nicholas Taylor, esquire, lived at the Lower Heath in this parish, when King Charles the 1. fled before Oliver Cromwell; then in the neighbourhood of Hereford; he dined and slept at the Unicorn Inn; in Westminster, the first day; and

the next two nights he slept at Mr. Tayler's (a short distance from the King's turning) from thence he rode over the hills to Newtown; and so on to Chester."

In the year 1647, when an universal murmur of the three nations evinced a thorough detestation of the parliament and army, the principal commanders in Wales, under the parliament, sent to Paris to declare, "That if they might have a supply of arms and ammunition, and a reasonable sum for the payment of their garrisons, they would declare for the king, having the chief places of those parts in their custody." These professions miscarried through Lord Jermyn's neglect of sending the necessary supplies, and thereby many gallant men were lost to the king's cause. A few eminent officers, notwithstanding Lord Jermyn's unjustifiable forgetfulness, renounced the parliament service in South Wales. Colonel Laughorn, Colonel Powell, and Colonel Poyer, had served the parliament from the beginning, but thinking their service ill requited; jealous that General Mytton and others were preferred over their heads; grew fatigued of their masters, and resolved to declare for the king. But Laughorn, a gentleman of good extraction and fortune, an experienced officer, would not engage in the enterprise, until they sent to the Prince of Wales then in Paris, to inform him of their resolution, their wants and readiness to join the king's party when called upon. Lord Jermyn promised all necessary relief and support, (of which he never thought afterwards) and these brave officers were unable to keep the field for want of ammunition and money. Lord Byron was dispatched from Paris about this time, to influence his old friends about

Chester and North Wales to appear for the king. He soon, by aid of Colonel Robinson, possessed himself of the Isle of Anglesea, and all North Wales, and was ready, as soon as the Scots should enter the kingdom, to join the royal standard. So well affected to the king did all Wales seem at this period.

Cromwell, previous to his marching against the Scots, thought it adviseable to suppress the returning loyalty of South Wales, which had recently defeated the parliament forces. The town and castle of Pembroke had been consigned to the government of Colonel Poyer, by parliament, but on his declaring for the king, his bravery in defence of Pembroke, was very great, which called for the usurper's personal attendance on the siege. The garrison suffered for want of provisions for two months, through Jermyn's inattention to his professions, and was literally famishing when it surrendered. Cromwell, not sensible of their privations and straits, was on the eve of raising the siege, had not a traitor escaped from the town, who informed him that the garrison must have surrendered in twenty-four hours, or perish by famine. The usurper's conduct, on the occasion, was worthy of a better cause; he ordered the renegade to be instantly hanged, observing, "that however acceptable the treason was, he detested the traitor." Saint Mary's church carries evident marks of Cromwell's artillery in the north side of its tower to this day.—Its brave defenders, Laughorn, Powell, and Poyer, regarded as heads of the insurrection or revolt, were made prisoners. Poyer was shot in 1649.

Mr. Yorke seems dubious whether Cromwell's military occasions ever brought him to Wales, but

allows that he might have made a friendly visit there; as in an old house at Kinnrael (once appertaining to the Llwyds of the tribe of Maredudd) but then belonging to Colonel Carter, an officer in his favour; is a room called Cromwell's parlour. The usurper, beyond a doubt, was personally commanding at the siege of Pembroke.*

Picton Castle, a fortress founded in the reign of William Rufus, (now the noble residence of Lord Milford) made a most gallant defence for the king against Cromwell. The castle of Narberth, built by Sir Andrew Perrot, and that of Haverfordwest, erected by Gilbert, Earl of Clare, suffered greatly, and were dismantled in this rebellion. The town and castle of Tenby were as eminent for the gallant defence they made for royalty, and subordination. This pleasant little place seems to have had always a proper idea of political affairs. Henry the VII. experienced great affection and service from it when Earl of Richmond, and doomed to a temporary banishment. His gratitude, when a monarch, retaliated Mr. Griffith White, then mayor, by granting him a lease of all the crown lands about Tenby, nor was his attachment less apparent to the inhabitants in general, to whom he bore a marked respect for the eminent services rendered him.

The county of Cardigan, to its reputation be it asserted, acted a most loyal and most conspicuous

* Cromwell was descended from Cadwgan, the second son of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, founder of the third royal tribe. The family name was anciently Williams: Morgan Williams, of Nantebury, in Cardiganshire, married the sister of Thomas Cromwell, the minister Earl of Essex, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Richard Cromwell, of Hinchinbroke, in Huntingdonshire, who first assumed the name of Cromwell. He was father to Sir Henry Cromwell, the grandfather by his second son Robert, of Oliver, the usurper.—*Yerke.*

part in this contest; though one of the Fairdref family was chaplain, and Evans, of Peterwell, agent to Oliver Cromwell.*

The town and castle of Cardigan were very early in this rebellion at the disposal of the parliament; two of the vile set of the sequestrators resided in the priory: viz. James Phillips and Hector Phillips. These conscientious gentlemen sacrilegiously stripped the lead from Saint David's cathedral, and used it about the church of Cardigan and their priorship's residence. In consequence of which depredation, Saint Mary's chapel and the side aisles of the chancel of the said cathedral, have remained in a ruinous state ever since. Cardigan, honoured with the presence of such tools of rebellion, at first disgraced the principality, but was soon liberated from its trammels by general Gerard, who invested it, and took possession of it for the king; which is all that is recorded of this borough and castle; here we cannot but regard the machinations of the sequestrators to forward their cause, render the established clergy odious, and to defraud them of their legal rights. An act, under an imposing title, for the *Propagation of the Gospel*, proposed by Hugh Peters, and left to the execution of Valvasor Powell, and Walter Cradock, ordered all ministers to be sequestered without exception; the revenues of the church to be brought into one public treasury, out of which was allowed £100

* Jenkin Llwyd of Fairdref, was master of arts, and chaplain to the protector.—Daniel Evans, esquire, of Llechwedd-dyrus, who built the first mansion at Peterwell, was agent to Cromwell, and is thus supposed to have enriched himself.—*Meyrick's Cardiganshire*.—See *Cambrian Register* for 1785, where the reader will find "a true character of the deportment for these eighteen years last past, of the principal gentry within the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan, in South Wales." The M. S. was written about the year 1681.

per annum, to six itinerant ministers, to preach in each county. Our countrymen were represented as pagans, infidels, and a people that understood nothing of vital religion. The ministers, their ministry, tithes and revenues of the church, were decried as *Babylonish* and *antichristian*. By this act were the clergy ejected, their livings sequestered, and the vacancies filled up by the most illiterate illiberal and ignorant mechanics. Under the reforming discipline of such sequestrators, of such ministers, we are not surprised that Wales inevitably, at this period, hatched a few rebels, and that Cardigan, as the head-quarters of the sequestrators should discover a disloyalty, peculiar to the times.* —But it was transient and of short duration.

Aberystwith presents a brighter prospect—eminent for warriors, philosophers, and engineers; it yields the palm to no borough in Wales, for military operations under its native princes, for wealth and loyalty in more modern times. It was here Sir Hugh Myddelton amassed the immense fortune, which he expended on the new river, which supplies the northern side of our metropolis with water. The same rich lead mines, the source of his wealth, were afterwards carried on with great spirit, and improved to a greater degree of producibleness, by a gentleman of the name of Bushel, the ingenious servant of Sir Francis Bacon. The mines, producing near a hundred ounces of silver from a ton of lead, and the great profit of two thousand pounds a month, encouraged Bushel to solicit Charles I. for the privilege of setting up a mint in this castle, for the benefit of paying his workmen, which peculiar advantage was obtained.

* Vide Walker's sufferings of the Clergy passim.

Aberystwith, hereupon, became a place of vast importance and great resort; here all the business of the mines was transacted. Bushel was also appointed, by the same monarch, governor of Lundy island, where he made a harbour for his vessels, which conveyed the produce of his mines up the Severn. When civil dissensions embroiled the nation, Mr. Bushel, with a munificence and liberality worthy of the cause, evinced his gratitude for the privilege granted him, by clothing the king's whole army; and offered his majesty a loan, which was considered as a gift, of £40,000. When afterwards the king was pressed by the rebels, Mr. Bushel raised him a regiment among his miners, at his own expense.

The castle was a most magnificent and almost impregnable fortress, but at last was obliged to yield to the tide of ill success that attended the royal cause, and the residence of Cadwalader, of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, of Gilbert Strongbow, and other valiant heroes and princes, became ultimately a garrison for rebels under the influence of an ambitious demagogue.

Richard Vaughan, Lord of Molingar, and Earl of Carberry, was created Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I. and by him constituted lieutenant general of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan, in the civil war. The usurper Cromwell, in his route to the siege of Pembroke, came suddenly across the country, with a troop of horse to Golden-Grove, with the intention of seizing the person of the Earl of Carberry. The earl, having fortunately had notice of his approach, retired to a sequestered farm house, amongst the hills, and escaped an interception. The usurper dined *en passant*

with the countess, and in the afternoon pursued his march to Pembroke.

The Vaughans of Golden-Grove were descended from Einon Efell, one of the twin natural sons of Madog ap Maredudd, son of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn. Einon was Lord of Cynllaeth, he resided at Llwynymaen, and died in 1196.—Lieutenant general Vaughan for his eminent service in that station was created Baron of Emlyn; and after the restoration was lord president of the marches in Wales, and a privy counsellor.

Dr. Jeremy Taylor, eminent as an author, and sufferer in the cause of royalty, upon his sequestration from the rectory of Uppingham, Rutlandshire, and his other dignities, found an asylum for several years at Golden-Grove, during the usurpation, and was protected by the loyal Earl of Carberry, to whom some of his works are dedicated. This great man, through Archbishop Laud's interest, was made fellow of All-Soul's college, Oxford, chaplain to his grace, and afterwards to Charles I. He, for some time, followed the king's army as chaplain. Though obliged at one time, prior we may suppose to his residence at Golden Grove, to keep a school for the maintenance of himself and children; he survived the turbulent period, and on the restoration was promoted to the see of Down and Connor, with the administration of the Bishoprick of Dromore. It should have been mentioned, that he was first settled in Ireland at Portmore, by Edward, Lord Conway.—His funeral sermon, in the phraseology of the times, by Dr. Rust, says, "This great prelate had the good humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a schoolman, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a chancellor, the saga-

city of a prophet, the reason of an angel, and the piety of a saint."

Carmarthen; the Maridunum of Antoninus, where the Romans had a military station, next claims our attention: close to the north side of the town are remains of a Roman Pretorium, in a field corruptly called *Bullrack*, for *Bullwark*; coins of the lower empire, often dug up in the gardens, and some Roman altars, are the sole remaining monuments of Roman grandeur. Various writers have asserted that the history of this place is little known, and instead of developing *that little*, have negligently omitted what is authentic and certain respecting this ancient metropolis of South Wales.

Carmarthen was the residence of the princes of South Wales, until Cadell, second son of Roderic the great fixed on Dinefawr, a palace erected by his father, as his royal abode. A situation fortified by nature. Carmarthen, being taken by the English, we may suppose, was the cause of his removal about the year 877.—The Normans retained the possession already obtained by Saxon prowess. For more than two centuries its history is buried in oblivion; a circumstance to be ascribed to the disinclination of the Welsh annalist to record any thing respecting a fortress of such strength in possession of a foe. In 1116, the intrepid Gryffydd ap Rhys menaced with a siege the castle of Carmarthen, which Henry I. had made the principal seat of government. The Norman officers, diffident of their own strength to maintain the place against the lawful prince, committed the custody and defence to some Welsh chieftains who were vassals to Henry, enjoining them to defend it for fourteen days. Owen ap Caradoc, descended maternally from Bleddyn ap Cysly'n, was the first to under-

take its defence. Gryffydd, having reconnoitred its situation and strength, and finding it assailable, suddenly invested it. Owen, confident of success, rushed to oppose the enemy, but being deserted by his soldiers, was slain upon the ramparts. The town was taken, and burnt, and the castle dismantled.

Owen Gwynedd, in confederacy with his brother, in his third expedition to South Wales, burnt this town to the ground, in 1137. Cadell ap Gryffydd ap Rhys, in the year 1148, fortified the castle, made it his head quarters, and from thence made an incursion into the Norman territory of Cydweli, which he ravaged and laid waste.—Rhys, son of Gryffydd ap Rhys, a chieftain of high spirit, laid siege to Carmarthen in 1158, but the place was relieved by the Earl of Bristol, the Earl of Clare, and a Welsh prince, Cadwalader, besides two other barons; an alliance too potent for the assailant: who was obliged to retreat to the mountains of Cefn-rester. The walls and castle were repaired by Clare. In 1195 the town and castle became an easy prey to Rhys ap Gryffydd, who revolted from his allegiance to King Richard I. Unfortunately in 1214, Rhys Vychan was made prisoner at Carmarthen, and secured in one of King John's prisons. This castle was by treaty to be restored by Llewelyn ap Iorwerth; in the year 1218, to Henry III. as well as all other lands and fortresses which had been taken from the King of England's vassals in South Wales; this castle he had invested and taken possession of three years before, and after five days' resistance taken, and levelled with the ground, consequently was not worth retaining. However, instead of abiding by the contract, Llewelyn placed new levies of soldiers in the castle.

In the absence of the Earl of Pembroke, (at that time in Ireland) Llewelyn laid waste his territories; took his fortresses, beheaded his soldiers; which the earl being informed of, without delay, landed at Saint David's, and recovered the castle of Carmarthen, and retaliated on the garrison the like cruel treatment. About the year 1228, Walter de Clifford was appointed governor of the castle, who, owing to Henry's violent conduct, revolted with other English barons, and entered into a league with Llewelyn ap Iorwerth. Carmarthen fell again into Henry's possession, and was invested by Pembroke in 1233. It was gallantly defended for three months, which compelled the earl to raise the siege; a supply of provisions and a reinforcement, being thrown into the place by sea. It continued afterwards in the hands of the English until the conquest of Wales by Edward the first.—*Welsh Chronicle: passim.*

Carmarthen, in the civil broils now relating, we may suppose well affected to the royal cause. Gerard signalized his valour in several actions at this place. Being also contiguous to the Earl of Carberry's residence, must have greatly influenced its loyalty.* Dr. Manwaring, Bishop of Saint David's,

* "Here was a priory of six black canons, founded before A. D. 1148, by ———. It was dedicated to Saint John the Evangelist, and endowed, about the time of the suppression, with a yearly revenue of £174 8 8 in the whole, and £164 0 4 clearly: and was granted, 35th Henry VIII. to Richard Andrews and Nicholas Temple. Here was an house of grey friars under the custody of Bristol, which, after the dissolution, was granted, 34th Henry VIII. to Thomas Lloyd; and 6th Edward VI. to Sir Thomas Gresham."—*Tanner's Not. Mon.*—Sir R. Steel was buried in this church, close under the small south door.

The right reverend Robert Ferrar, Bishop of Saint David's, one of the earliest episcopal martyrs in the sacred and glorious cause of our protestant faith, was burnt at the stake, on the south side of Carmarthen cress, on Saturday, the 30th of March, 1555. Tradition

after a most violent persecution from the Puritans, terminated his miseries at Carmarthen, July 16th, 1653. The see was vacant fifteen years from the abolition of episcopacy in 1645.*

General Gerard was victorious at Llacharn, in this county, a place of great eminence, and strongly fortified with a castle by Guido de Brian, Lord Marcher in these parts. Guido, contrary to the spirit of those ravagers in general, was a benefactor to this corporation, by granting lands for its use. His cloak or mantle, richly embroidered in purple and gold, is still gratefully preserved in the church. Its present name seems deduced from General William Laugharne, who in the year 1644, besieged and took the castle of Llacharn, or rather Tal Llacharn, from its situation *above the great lake*.

says, that Bishop Ferrar suffered in Priory-street, Carmarthen, near a large oak, still standing.—The frivolous articles exhibited against Bishop Ferrar, with extracts from the answer of his lordship, may be seen in Bishop Burgess's appendix to a charge delivered to the chapter of Saint David's, in the year 1811.

William Williams, esquire, late of Ivy Tower, Pembrokeshire, was a direct lineal descendant, and successor to the estates which have been handed down by inheritance, from the daughter and heiress of the unfortunate prelate.—Ferrar Howell, son of Robert Howell, of Trenwydd, Pembrokeshire; a descendant of Bishop Ferrar is interred in Carmarthen churchyard, on the south of the church; date 1722.

* *The Effigy of Sir Rhys ap Thomas and his lady*, in Carmarthen chancel, removed from the Priory at the dissolution, affords a specimen of the costume in Henry the seventh's reign.—His hair is flowing in ringlets over his shoulders, he has a ringed iron collar round his neck, a breastplate, on which are painted his arms, a sword and dagger, and his legs and arms completely cased in armour; over all this he has a mantle, with a collar falling back, the arms in a garter painted on his left shoulder.—His lady's cap is almost square, a necklace, a tucker above her gown, which is a short one, shewing the petticoat below, and tightened round the waist by a gold cord tied in the centre, the two ends of which reach below the knees, and are ended by tassels. Over all she wears a long flowing robe with large sleeves.—This sepulchral mass is erroneously pointed out by strangers as the monument of Rhys ap Tewdwr.

In the British Chronicle it is called Aber Coran, descriptive of its situation, at the confluence of the river *Coran*, which empties itself into the sea, a little below the castle.* The castle of Llandovery was in this contest destroyed by Cromwell's forces.

The castle of Brecknock, erected as early as the year 1004, the splendid residence of the De Newmarch, Miles, Earl of Hereford, de Braose, de Bohun and Stafford affords but little to the history of the times. That it was honoured with King Charles's presence has been already recorded. This castle and manor by the attainder of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, in 1521, escheated to the crown. In the seventh of Charles I. in consideration of the sum of £20,000, the king granted this, with other property in fee farm to William Collins and Edward Fenne, gentlemen, who soon after conveyed it to Philip, Earl of Pembroke; from him by purchase, it became the property of the Morgan family of Terrow, in the county of Brecon. Sir Charles Morgan, of Tredegar, bart. is the present proprietor.† Dr. Powell of this town, was ejected from his benefices, by the *commissioners for propagating the gospel*, for the unpardonable crimes of adhering to the king and reading the common prayer. His pulpit was occasionally occupied by the reformer Powell. After a voluntary exile beyond the seas, he survived the troubles, was restored to his preferments, and created doctor in divinity, and made Canon of Saint David's. His panegyrist calls him a learned and orthodox man, of a godly life and conversation, a constant preacher in Welsh and English.‡ His learning, however, was of no avail against whining cant; his orthodoxy of detriment, and

* Carlisle. † Carlisle. ‡ Walker.

his constant preaching little suited the taste of Puritans, who, then, as well as now, invidiously claimed to themselves the title of being the only evangelical preachers.—That there should exist a body of men, who tread in the very exact steps of the fanatics, who overturned the ecclesiastical and civil establishment of this realm; in the reign of Charles I., is too notorious to be concealed, and lamentable to think of.—The result of that dismal experiment is an awful warning to such arrogant, pharisaical, deluded mortals! Let any man read *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, a folio volume! where he will find the *numbers* and *sufferings* of the learned, pious and worthy men, who were ejected, sequestered, and persecuted to make room for miscreants; from whose *Godly reformation*, as it was termed, anarchy, confusion and misery ensued. May God avert a similar consequence to the nation from the indefatigability of their servile imitators. Their unscrip- tural doctrine of faith without works has been attended with fatal consequences to morality and practical religion, and their bitterness against Christians, sound in opinion, doctrine, and practice, is violently rigorous and uncharitably acrimonious.

William Nicholson, A.M. Archdeacon of Brecon, Vicar of Carmarthen, and Rector of Llandilo Fawr, was one of the persecuted dignitaries of the established church. After his ejection, he taught a school in Carmarthenshire; maintaining, in the mean time, the cause of the church of England, by his writings against her adversaries. Having survived his own and the nation's miseries, he was, by the interest of lord chancellor Clarendon; promoted to the see of Gloucester, 1616, with the privilege of holding the archdeaconry in commendam. He died in 1674. His epitaph is as follows:—

"In concionibus, frequens; in scriptis, nervosus. Legenda scribens, et faciens scribenda. Gravitas episcopalis in fronte emicuit. Pauperibus quotidiana Charitate Beneficus, Comitatus erga Clerum et Literatos, admirandus. Gloriæ ac Dierum Satur, in Palatio suo, ut vixit, pie decessit, &c."

This narration, brief and imperfect, is nearly all that is recorded of the operations of the king's and the parliament forces, in Wales, during a period of uncommon turbulence and rebellion. An insurrection set on foot by a few reformers, fostered by anarchy, while fanaticism fanned the flame. Its duration was long; its continuance marked with cruelty, oppression and carnage; and termination, (devoutly wished by all lovers of order and regular government) effected by the glorious restoration of peace, tranquility, and a lawful sovereign.

The courage and loyalty of the ancient Britons were put to the test in the late conflict, in an eminent degree, when an adherence to the extravagant and frantic theories of French Republicans, operated on too many to adopt their phlogistic principles, and aim at the subversion of the best of governments, and erecting on its ruins the pandemonium of France. Though Paine's works, and publications of similar tendency, were very early sedulously brought into Wales, yet they found few readers. A Welsh Dictionary was intended as a vehicle of their pernicious doctrine, but remained unperused, till the objectionable parts were suppressed.* A

* The following is an extract from a letter, well deserving of notice, inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine, for September, 1799.—It is dated from Denbigh and has the signature, W. M. B.

"What renders this sect particularly dangerous is, that the preachers are, in general, instruments of Jacobinism, sent into this country to disseminate their doctrines; and I assure you, that Paine's works and other books of the like tendency, have been translated into Welsh, and secretly distributed about by the leaders of this sect. These are facts which may be depended upon, and which are well known to many in this country as well as to myself."—*Bingley's N.*

few ungrateful individuals, conspicuous neither for power nor influence, for merit or distinction, might, in Wales, have caught the mania, and for a season applauded the progress attending innovation, yet, it is to be hoped, that, however violent in politics, they did not wish to connect themselves with the monsters of republicanism, who murdered their king and queen, trampled on the altars of religion, and would have dethroned their God. The most ardent reformist blushed for the enormities of France and Ireland. But Sir Richard Musgrave's maxim, "that a vehement reformist is often an incipient traitor," should be borne in mind by all that are clamorous for innovations in church or state. *Reform* is become the watchword of a faction, and obtrudes itself upon the undesigning; when, perhaps, much mischief and confusion, blood-shed and rebellion, lurk under the imposing word. Arthur O'Connor, Wolfe Tone, Napper Tandy, Bagenal Harvey, and many others, were eminent reformers in Ireland, but ultimately traitors; their fate is fresh in the memory of most readers. Their diabolical machinations, their horrible attempt to subvert a regular and well-established government, cost the

Wales, v. 1. p. 211. Paine's death and burial deserves to be universally known:—"A letter from Philadelphia, June 20, written by a gentleman returned to that city from a tour, exhibits a most whimsical representation of the funeral procession of the late celebrated Thomas Paine. "On my return from my journey, when I arrived near to Hearlem, on York island, I met the funeral of Tom Paine on the road; it was going to East Chester for interment. The followers were two negroes, the next a carriage, with six drunken Irishmen in it, then a riding chair, with two men in it; one of whom was asleep, and then an Irish quaker on horseback. I stopped my sulkey to ask the quaker what funeral it was; he said it was Paine's, and that his friends, as well as his enemies, were all glad he was gone, for he had tired his friends out by his intemperance and frailties."

Peter Porcupine (Cobbett) brought over his bones to England in 1819 which proved the bones of a negro.

deluded nation, besides the lives sacrificed to their raging madness, the sum of £1,023,337.*

Did the loyalty of the Welsh, at that period of universal confusion, alarm and dismay, want an eulogist? let the numerous and strong corps of cavalry and infantry raised and disciplined in the principality, be their panegyrist. Sir Watkin Williams Wynne's corps of ancient British fencible cavalry, surmounted difficulties and achieved such feats of valour and magnanimity, in Ireland, as will reflect eternal credit on their arms. They were the foremost in every post of danger, always victorious. They evinced that the blood of the Welsh princes was not extinct, and that a descendant of Owen Gwynedd could contest for British liberty and order, on the banks of the *Nore*, *Barrow* and *Ovaca*, equally with his royal ancestors on the *Conway* or *Dee*, *Severn* or *Clwyd*.

The demagogues of France, not content with disseminating their pernicious doctrines in Wales by their agents, and alienating the minds of the weak and unstable by their levelling principles, but they must actually disturb the peace of a happy territory, by making a descent on their coast, and an endeavour to fraternize a nation inflexibly affected to the existing government.—On Wednesday, February 22d, 1797, two large frigates, a corvette and a lugger landed a banditti of 1500 ragamuffins and desperados, at Pencaer, in Pembrokeshire. Their reception was the reverse of a fraternal hug. Their disembarkation caused a momentary dismay; which soon vanished, and Welsh prowess prevailed: Henry the II. of England's assurance to Emanuel, Emperor of Constantinople, was, in a great degree, confirmed at this perilous juncture: viz. that the an-

* Sir R. Musgrave's History of the Rebellion in Ireland.

cient Britons, in defence of their country, would dare engage with the bare fist, a host armed at all points. Every weapon, offensive and defensive, was grasped on, and raised with vengeance against the invaders. The military force stationed in the neighbouring towns was soon mustered, and the chief command given to the Right Honourable Lord Cawdor. Fortunately for the French, the ardour of the populace was restrained and kept within proper bounds by the officers commanding the respective corps, otherwise, few of the great nation would have reached the French shore, to relate the carnage they escaped at Fishguard; so great was the impetuosity animating every breast. Finding the Welsh not at all disposed to join their standard, their valorous commander, Tate, sent two officers to the British commander with proposals for a negotiation, of which the following is a copy:—

*“Cardigan Bay, 5th of Ventose,
5th year of the Republic.”*

“Sir,

“The circumstances under which the body of the French troops under my command were landed at this place renders it unnecessary to attempt any military operations, as they would tend only to bloodshed and pillage. The officers of the whole corps have therefore intimated a desire of entering into a negotiation, upon principles of humanity, for a surrender. If you are influenced by similar considerations, you may signify the same by the bearer, and in the mean time hostilities shall cease.

Health and respect,

TATE, Chef de Brigade.

*“To the officer commanding his
Britannic Majesty's forces.”*

Lord Cawdor, having detained one of the officers as an hostage, returned the following answer:—

“Sir,

“The superiority of the force under my command, which is hourly increasing, must prevent my treating upon any terms short of your surrendering your whole force prisoners of war. I enter

fully into your wish of preventing an unnecessary effusion of blood, which your speedy surrender can alone prevent, and which will entitle you to that consideration it is ever the wish of British troops to shew to an enemy whose numbers are inferior.

My major will deliver you this letter, and I shall expect your determination by ten o'clock, by your officer, whom I have furnished with an escort that will conduct him to me without molestation.

I am, &c.

CAWDOR.

"To the officer commanding the French troops."

The terms were approved, and the French troops surrendered and laid down their arms on Good-wick sands.

Two men only were suspected of being implicated in this nefarious business, and, upon the impeachment of some of their French friends and fellow-citizens, lodged in Haverfordwest gaol, arraigned at the bar, but liberated for want of evidence; the informers alledging, "that they came to fight and not to swear." A conduct, in every respect, worthy of the republican banditti, whose courage in the field corresponded with their subterfuge at the bar.

May Britain appreciate her own prosperity, and learn wisdom from the fall of other nations! Let civil and religious liberty be her boast; universal justice her pride! And may the Principality of Wales, a district of much turbulence and discord heretofore, now incorporated with England under one august monarch, rapturously say,

Jam cuncti Gens una Sumus
Et simus in ævum!

FINIS.



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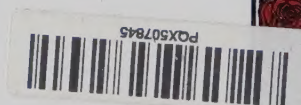


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